

The Society  
For the Promotion of Hellenic Studies

SUPPLEMENTARY PAPERS

No. 1

ECCLESIASTICAL SITES

IN

ISAURIA (CILICIA TRACHEA)

BY

ARTHUR C. HEADLAM

FELLOW OF ALL SOULS' COLLEGE, OXFORD

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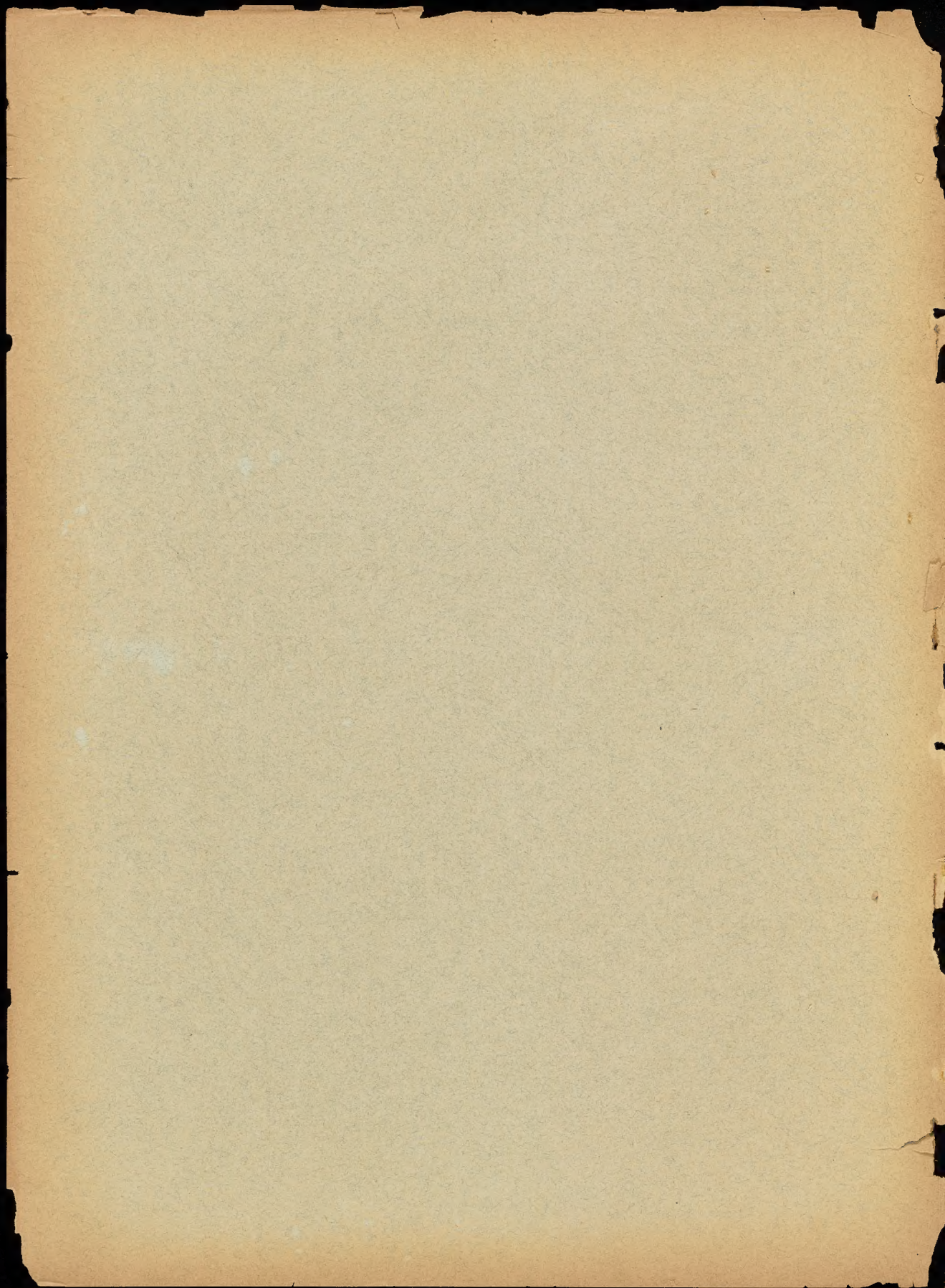
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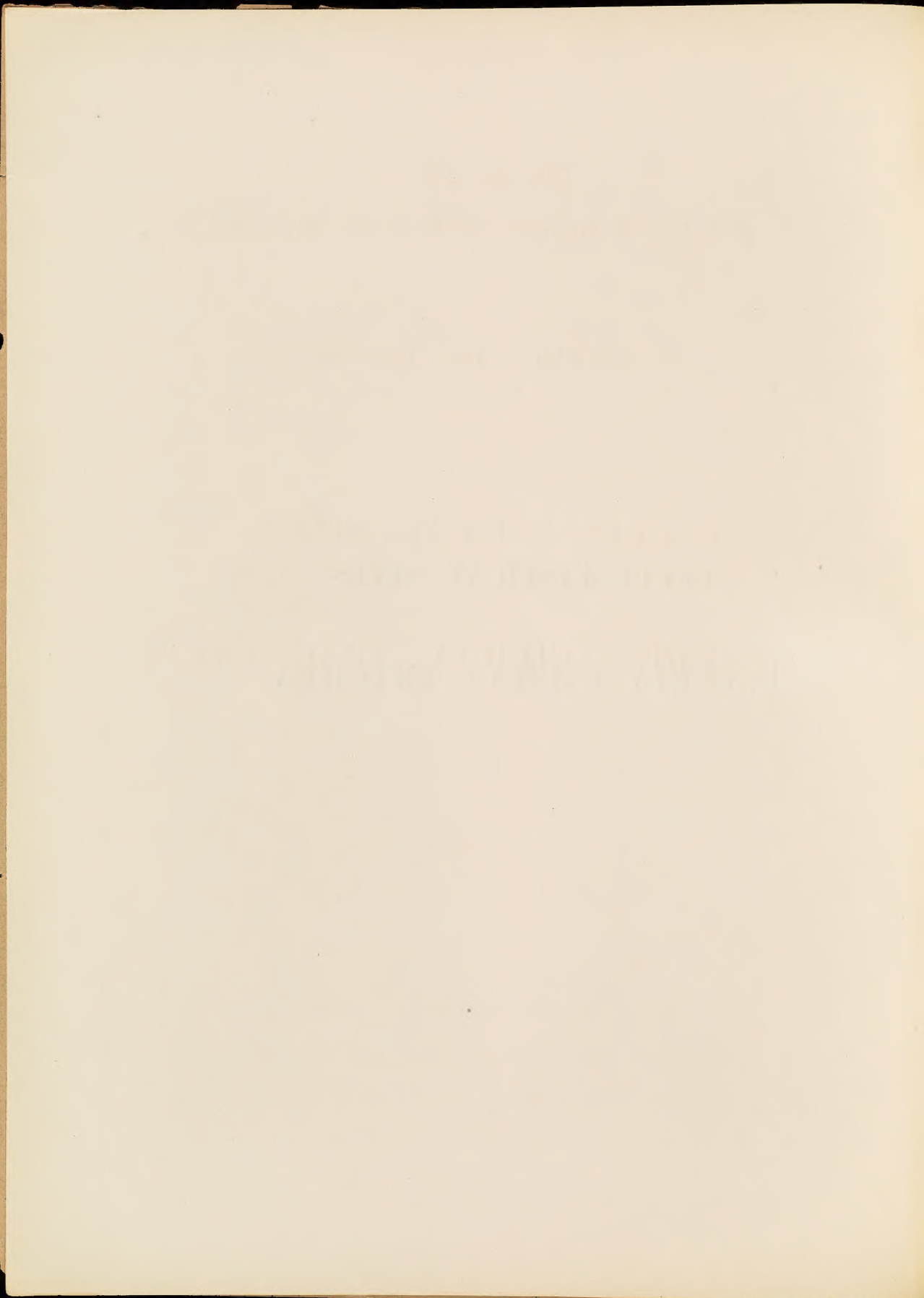
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1877



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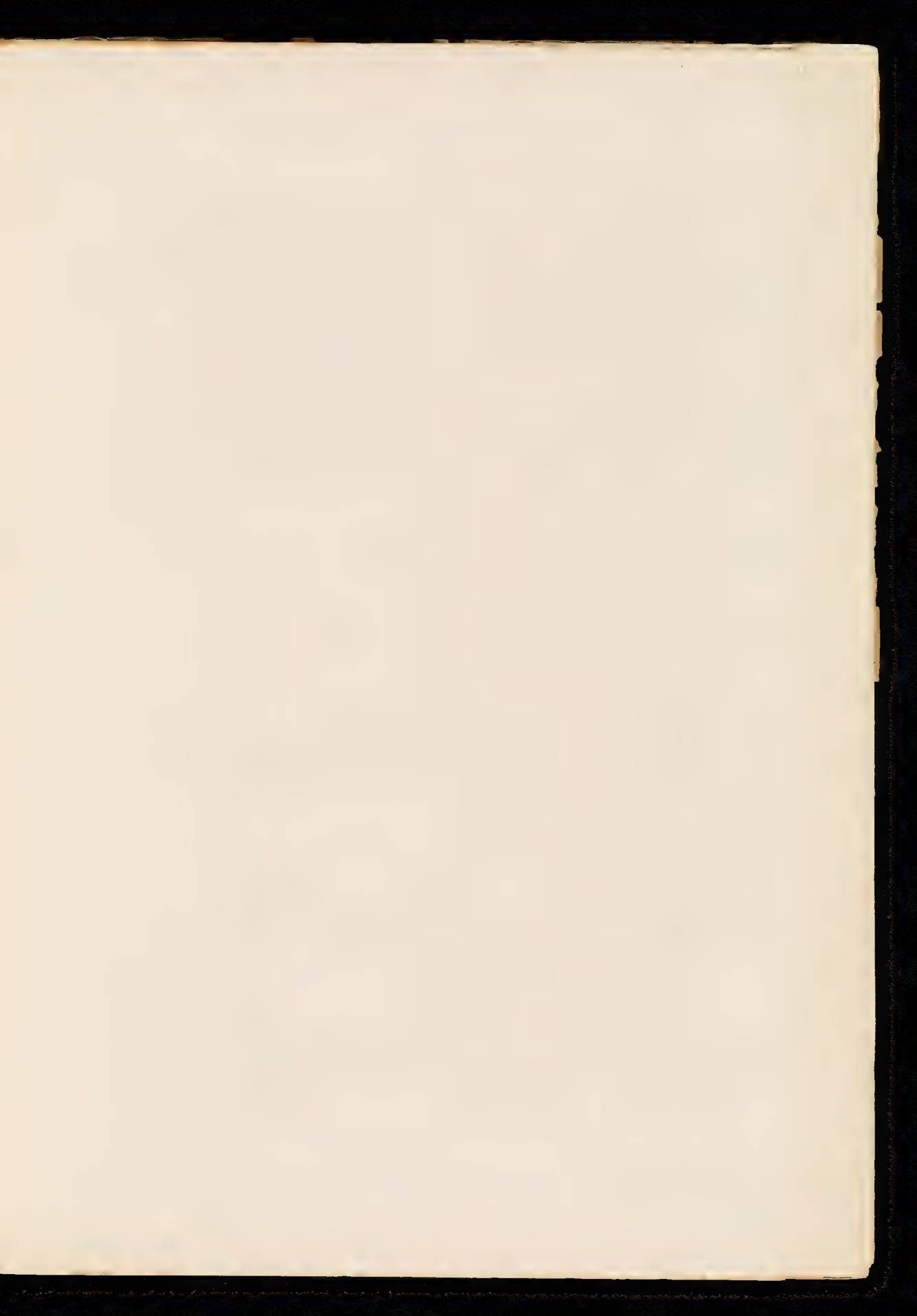
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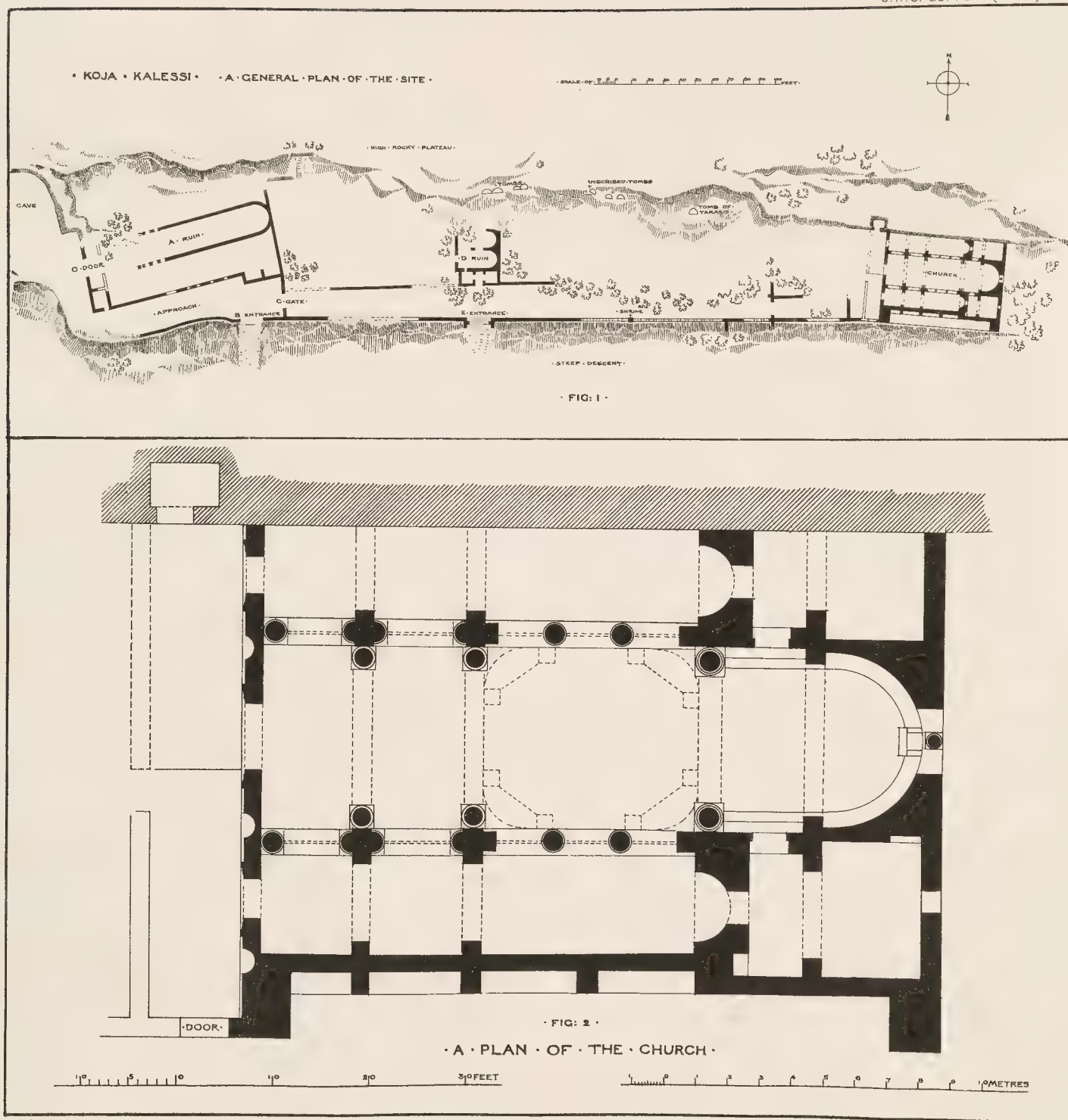
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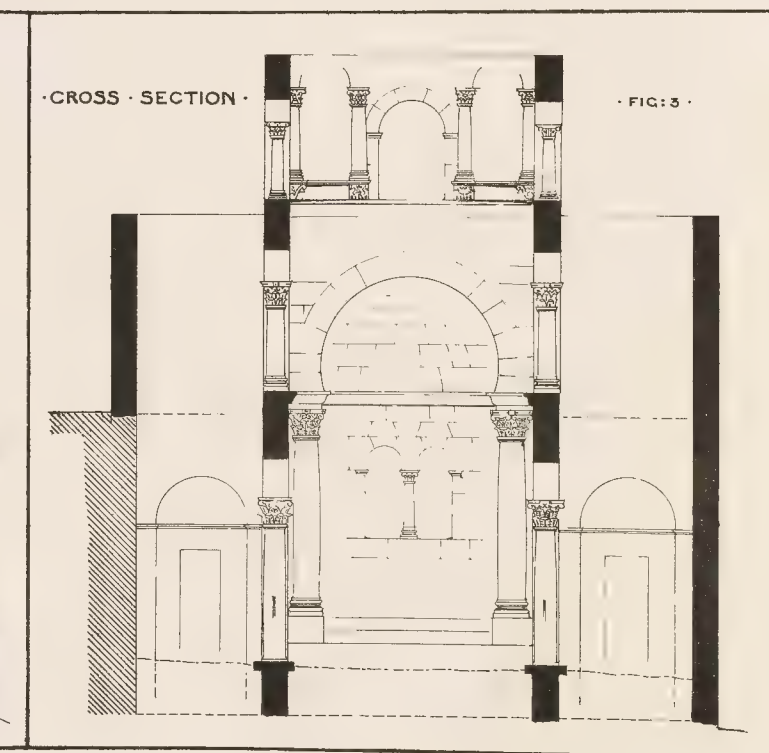
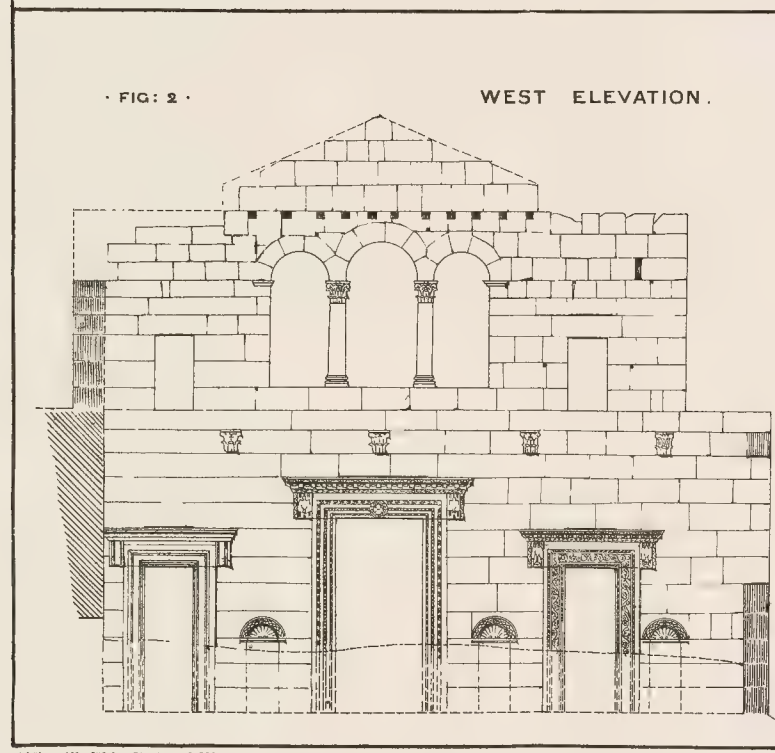
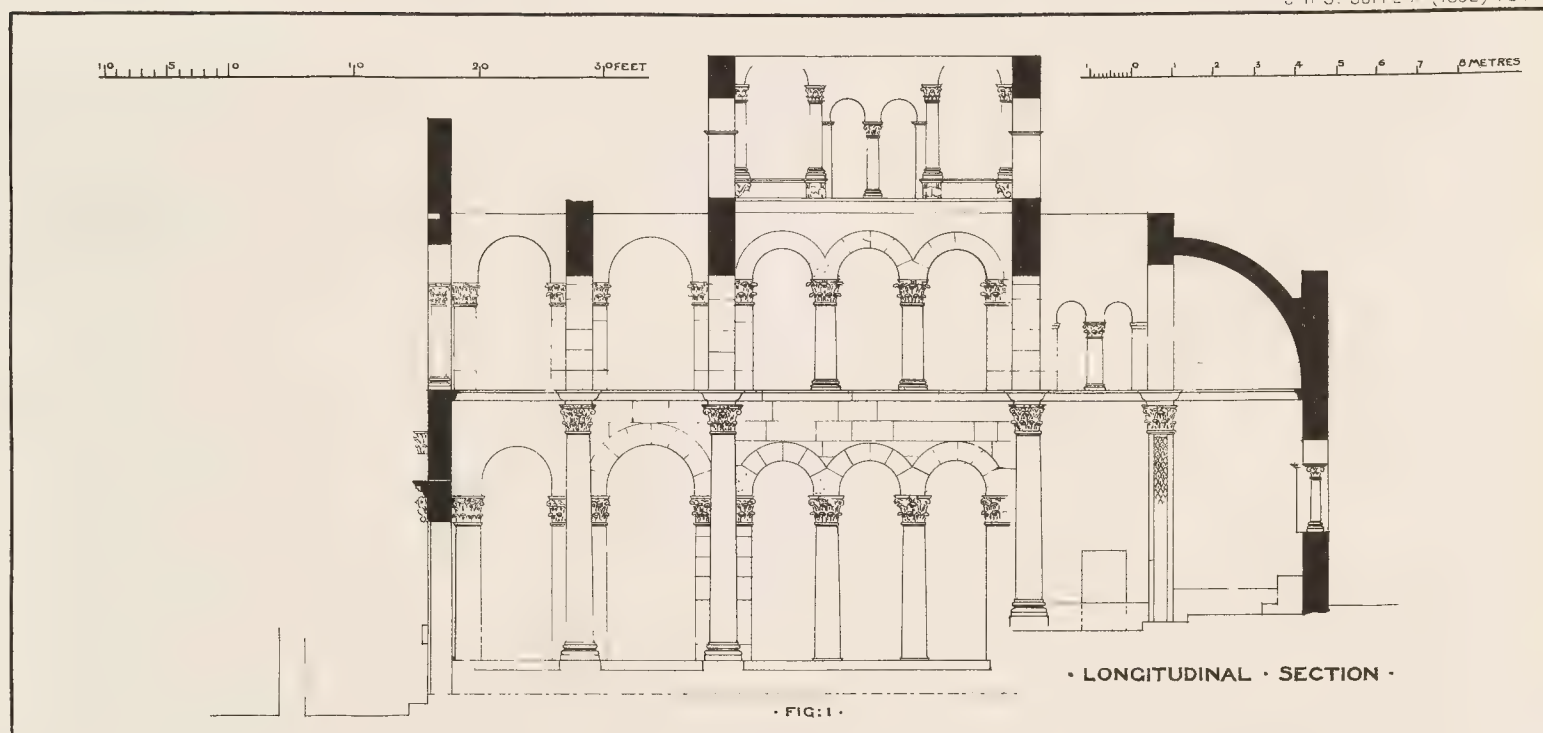






CHURCH AT KOJA KALESSI, (ISAURIA)





CHURCH AT KOJA KALESSI, (ISAURIA.)



## ECCLIASTICAL SITES IN ISAURIA (CILICIA TRACHEA).

THE purpose of this paper is to describe certain sites in the ancient Byzantine province of Isauria or Cilicia Trachea, the interest of which is mainly ecclesiastical. They were visited by a party consisting of Prof. W. H. Ramsay of Aberdeen, Mr. D. G. Hogarth of Magdalen College, Oxford, and myself during July, 1890.

### § 1.—KOJA KALESSI.

Koja Kalessi (called by Laborde Aladja Khan) is situated about five hours to the north of the town of Mut—the ancient Claudopolis—high up on the north-eastern slope of the Calycadnus valley. It was visited in 1826 by the French traveller Laborde, who describes it in his *Voyage en Orient*.<sup>1</sup> His remarks are interesting and his drawings of very considerable artistic merit, but inaccurate and untrustworthy. We spent part of July 7 and 8, 1890, at the ruins, and it is the result of this visit which will be described in the following paper. It was not until some months after our return that we found Laborde's description; until then we imagined we had been the first visitors to the site.

The road from Mut follows the most direct route to Karaman for  $4\frac{1}{2}$  hours. After passing over a low ridge the river Pirinj Su, which descends from Kestel, is crossed by a bridge about an hour from Mut. Then comes a low plain, then the village of Yapanli, and then the road begins to ascend. At  $2\frac{1}{2}$  hours from Mut a little to the left of the road is a spring called Ildija, 'warm,' for though the water seems cool on a hot day, in cold weather it is discovered to be warm in temperature, and it has a slightly medicinal character. At  $4\frac{1}{2}$  hours is a built fountain and a group of ruined buildings, including apparently a ruined khan and some other remains of an architectural character. Laborde's descriptions of these buildings seem exaggerated, or they have been much destroyed since his time.<sup>2</sup> From here the ruins of Koj Kalessi are seen on the side of the mountain above, and a steep climb of half an hour up the hill side is required to reach them. Near here also must be some ruins which were reported to us as existing in the valley towards the village Maliya, half an hour to the north-west; the native who had promised to guide us to them failed.

The ruins of Koj Kalessi are situated about 3000 feet above the Calycadnus valley and 4000 feet above the sea, facing south and south-west and looking over the junction of the two great river valleys through which the two branches of the ancient Calycadnus run. They consist of a large monastery with buildings of various characters too much destroyed to be easily identified, and a church in very good preservation. They are built on a terrace running nearly due east and west, partly cut out of the side of the hill, with the ground falling away very steeply below and rising almost precipitously above.

Just outside the entrance, which is at the west, and on the left hand, is a large cave, (see the general plan *Plate I*), and immediately beyond this comes one of the gates of the monastery, of which there appear to have been several. The doorway marked *O* in the plan,

<sup>1</sup> Laborde, *Voyage en Orient*, pp. 124, 126. Planches, 68, 69.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* p. 124. 'En effet, non loin de là nous trouvons un monument qui doit avoir été une chapelle, et un vaste

édifice, qui sera notre khan, et qui était une église. A quelle époque attribuer ces constructions solides, imposantes par leur ensemble?'

of which a reproduction from a photograph is given (Fig. 1), is still standing and is richly carved. On the inside of each of the gateposts are two winged figures which seem to be undoubtedly the archangels Michael and Gabriel; above in the lintel is a head of the Saviour surrounded by a circle and borne by six-winged figures. This is the Παντοκράτωρ and the figures on either side are the ἐξαπτέρυγα, and it represents the usual ornament of the doors of Greek churches and monasteries.<sup>9</sup>



FIG. 1.—VIEW OF DOORWAY MARKED O ON PLAN.

This is certainly the right explanation of these carvings, and they are undoubtedly Christian, but they show a very marked resemblance to pre-Christian designs. In Laborde's work may be seen a very similar design representing two-winged figures bearing the sundisk which he copied at Konia, and another example is given by Fellows. The adoption by Christianity of pre-Christian designs is more marked in this site than in later buildings. The influence of the spirit of Christianity has not had time to make itself fully felt,

<sup>9</sup> Laborde's description is fuller, *ib.* p. 124. 'A côté est une porte de six pieds de haut sur quatre de large, dont les montants et le linteau sont ornés avec une richesse de conception, une abondance de détail et une délicatesse d'exécution vraiment surprenantes. Sur les montants se dressent deux anges; ils reposent leurs pieds sur les têtes de deux vieillards figurés en buste. Le linteau est orné d'un bas-relief qui représente un ange aux ailes étendues, ayant à ses côtés des aigles qui combattent,

ici un lion, là un taureau: aux deux extrémités deux figures vénérables d'hommes âgés sont séparées du reste de la composition par un arbre. Les ornements qui accompagnent ces bas-reliefs sont empreints des souvenirs encore assez purs de l'antiquité, et on les a répandus avec une profusion qui n'est égale que par leur bonne exécution.' And *Revue Archéologique*, iv. 1847, p. 174. 'Des anges avec six ailes déployées, soutenant dans un médaillon l'image du Christ.'

and the old designs are still almost unchanged. This seems corroborative evidence of the early character of the site we are describing.<sup>4</sup>

Inside the gateway are the ruins of what was apparently a large reception hall of basilica form with an apsidal termination. Round it ran a gallery with a long row of windows on the south side, which perhaps marked a division into small cells. The remaining buildings are partly too much dilapidated, partly too much blocked by brushwood, for their purpose to be apparent



FIG. 2.—DETAIL OF CENTRAL PART OF LINTEL OF THE SAME DOORWAY.

without excavation or at least clearing the ground. Along the south side of the monastic enclosure ran a wall surmounted with columns on a balustrade with niches and a shrine. To the north the monastery was protected by the steep slope of the hill, in which were tombs cut in the rock, some few with inscriptions. The whole length of the enclosure was nearly 600 feet, the breadth about 70 feet.



FIG. 3.—VIEW OF THE WEST END OF THE CHURCH AT KOJA KALEESI.

At the extreme east end of the monastery is situated the church, a rectangular building about 70 feet in length by 45 feet in breadth, the ruins of which are in very good preservation.

<sup>4</sup> Fellows, *Lycia*, p. 224. In the small edition (1852), p. 377.

Mr. W. R. Lethaby, to whom I am indebted for several

drawings, has kindly communicated the following notes.

<sup>5</sup> The figures that uphold the central garland and medallion are six-winged, and of a kind—mostly wings and little



The roof, which was probably of wood, has been destroyed, but all the stone work and the stone vaulting over the apse still remain.

In front of the west end was probably an open court similar to that described by Eusebius, with a colonnade or cloister at any rate on the south side, where the remains are distinctly traceable. This, Eusebius tells us, was the furthest point to which those without any Christian instruction might advance.<sup>5</sup>

Immediately in front of the church was a portico, the construction of which it is difficult to determine. By looking at the west elevation (Pl. II. Fig. 2) it will be seen that a little above the doors in the west end is a line of four capitals, and at the south corner a square projection built into the wall. Presumably these must have been intended as a support to some floor or roof, while higher up, above the great windows, are a row of holes into which rafters were probably inserted. These two indications seem to suggest that the portico was of two stories. In that case it may be suggested that the upper story was a gallery, roofed above but open, giving access to the internal galleries (see below) by means of the two openings into the aisle. The ground outside the church is considerably higher than that inside—although not quite so much as is shown in the plan—and suggests the ruins of a considerable structure; while at the southern end of the portico are some remains which might be accounted for by supposing that there was a staircase situated there. Whatever the structure may have been, this portico represents τὰ ἐνδότερα πρόπυλα of Eusebius,<sup>6</sup> the πρόναος or ἔξω-ναρθῆξ of a later church.

Mr. Schultz has pointed out to me the existence of a somewhat similar arrangement of galleries in a monastery church in Greece, that of St. Luke in Phocis near Helicon. Entrance to this gallery and the galleries of the church was probably also obtained from the rock on the north side, which is at a higher level. So access is obtained to the galleries in the monastery church of St. Luke from a corridor in the monastery, to which the cells open.

There is one more point which is suggested by this portico. By looking at the plan it will be seen that a wall ran up to one of the posts of the central doorway, and that the southern portion of the portico would thus be separated from the rest. This wall was probably a later addition. Moreover there is a doorway opening to the outside of the monastery. The object of this arrangement may have been to admit women, and others not connected with the community, directly to the church and its galleries without obliging them to go through the monastery and disturb the seclusion of the monks. The church was probably a place of pilgrimage, and sanctified by some memories which are now lost, and on certain days in the year would be visited by large crowds from the districts round. To admit these into the church and keep the monastery secluded would be the object of these alterations in the portico.

The question has been raised as to how far the portico was a later addition. It is clear that the walls last mentioned were not part of the original design, but it is equally clear that some sort of portico and gallery outside the west end of the church was intended from the beginning, for the capitals, and the holes for rafters mentioned above are undoubtedly part of the original structure and there is no sign that they were added later.

The entrance to the church is gained by three doorways; on the right of each is a carved niche, now half-buried in the *débris* that has fallen. These niches again are the reproduction of an earlier pre-Christian custom, examples of which may be seen in some of the drawings in De Vogüé.<sup>7</sup>

body—that recalls those of the pendentives of S. Sophia. The idea seems to be derived from Isaiah vi. 2.

'The angels on the jambs of the doorpost are almost certainly Michael and Gabriel—see De Vogüé's *La Syrie Centrale*, p. 90, compare also the figures which Wood found on the jambs of the so-called tomb of S. Luke at Ephesus (Wood's *Ephesus*, p. 57), which would also be these guardian angels. Laborde (*op. cit.* p. 124) says they stand on busts. One of these is seen rather indistinctly in the reproduction from a photograph of the door (Fig. 1). These two busts with five on the posts and lintel make seven, and it is tempting to suggest that they are the planets, Michael and Gabriel standing on their own stars. The planets were often represented in this manner (see Wood's *Palmyra*, plate xix., where we have on a ceiling busts representing the seven planets surrounded by the signs of the Zodiac). The position of Gabriel and Michael is that which they

occupy in Byzantine iconography, viz.: on either side of the entrance as guardians of the door.'

Mr. Lethaby goes on to suggest that the central bust, that of Christ, is treated as the sun in pre-Christian buildings. 'The association of the sun and moon with the door was quite universal, compare the temple of Baal Zamin (De Vogüé) which had a bust of the sun over the doorway.'

<sup>5</sup> Eus. *H. E.* X. iv. 39 (ed. Heinichen), εἰσω δὲ παρελθόντι πύλων, οὐκ εὐθὺς ἐφῆκεν ἀνέγκους καὶ ἀνέπτους ποσὶ τῶν ἑνδον ἐπιβαίνειν ἁγίων, διαλαβὼν δὲ πλείστον ὄσον τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ τε νῦν καὶ τῶν πρότερον εἰσδῶν τέτταροι μὲν περίε ἑκατοσίοις κατεκδόμησε στοιὰς, εἰς τετράγωνόν τι σχῆμα περιέφραξεν τὸν τόπον... μέσον αἰθρίων ἦφλει εἰς τὴν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κἀνοῦσαν.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.* X. iv. 41.

<sup>7</sup> De Vogüé, *La Syrie Centrale*, pl. 33.

Of the three doorways, that to the north is plain; that in the centre, which is larger than the others, is richly carved with traditional and palmette ornament. That to the south is still richer (Fig. 4). Outside, on the doorposts and lintel, the ornament consists of vine-leaves with grapes and birds; inside, between the posts, of fishes arranged in a very striking and effective pattern. Three such doors are specially mentioned by Eusebius in his description of an early church.<sup>8</sup> He states that the centre was always larger than the other two.



FIG. 4. -DETAIL OF SOUTH DOORWAY IN WEST WALL.

The ornament of this south doorway is full of interest, and reflects the character of the site. Fishes are, of course, a well-known Christian symbol, but a Christian symbol of the early centuries, when, partly from a sense of reverence, partly from a desire for secrecy, the Church abstained from definite representations of Christian ideas. The vine-leaf, the grapes, and the birds plucking the grapes, are all conventional pre-Christian ornaments, but adopted here, as in the catacombs and in the Roman mosaics, as admirably representing in a symbolical manner Christian teaching. One of the great doors in the temple at Baalbec,<sup>9</sup> ornament figured by De Vogüé,<sup>10</sup> and doors in

<sup>8</sup> Eus. *H. E.* X. iv. 41, ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ τὴν τοιούτων θείαν παραμειψάμενος, πλείους ἐστὶ μᾶλλον τοῖς ἐνδοξάτω προτύποις τὰς ἐπὶ τὸν νεὸν παρόδους ἀναπεπταμένας ἐποίησεν, ὑπὸ μὲν ταῖς ἡλίου βολαῖς αὐτὴς τρεῖς πύλας ὅφ' ἐν καταθείς πλεονέκτεν, ἐν τῷ πολὺ τὰς παρ' ἑκάτερα μεγάλας τε καὶ πλατεῖς πλεονεκτεῖν τῇ μέσῃ χαρισάμενος, παραπλήγμασι τε χαλκοῦ σιδηροδέτοις καὶ ποικίλμασιν ἀναγλύφους διαφερόντως αὐτὴν φαεινῶς ὥσαν βασιλίδι ταύτῃ τοῖς δορυφόροις ὑπέτευξε.

<sup>9</sup> R. Wood, *Ruins of Baalbec*, plate xxxii. London, 1757. Mr. R. Phené Spiers has kindly put at my disposal

a drawing that he made of the temple doorway at Baalbec (Fig. 6). He also points out to me how common the vine was as a Jewish ornament. 'On the tombs of the kings and on the tomb of Jehoshaphat, both ascribed to the Herodian period, and in other tombs near Jerusalem, the vine and grapes are carved, and in the two first named examples the style and character of the work suggests its having been executed by Greek artists.'

<sup>10</sup> De Vogüé, *op. cit.* Pl. 3.

Diocletian's palace at Spalatro,<sup>11</sup> may be cited as instances of the type from which these Christian doorways and their ornament have been developed. But if these be compared together, it will be seen that although the design is the same the treatment is different; the later work is freer and bolder, if less refined, and beginning to break away from the early conventions. The work is Byzantine rather than Roman, or perhaps Roman passing into Byzantine.



FIG. 5. DETAIL OF ORNAMENT ON THE LINING OF THE SAME DOOR.

The church itself consists of a nave, two aisles, a bema or sanctuary ending in an apse, and side chambers opening into the aisles and sanctuary. In the centre of the building is a low tower.

The following points seem to be of special interest:—

(1) The first two bays of the nave, as also of the aisles, are divided structurally from one another and from the square space under the central tower by arches which assisted in supporting the roof. These arches are interesting as showing that the architectural affinities of the church are with those of northern Syria, figured and described by De Vogüé.<sup>12</sup> There the churches are roofed with large slabs of stone supported on arches crossing the nave. But Taurus, unlike northern Syria, was a well-wooded country. A stone roof therefore was unnecessary, but the arches crossing the nave and taking the place of the beams of the older basilicas were still preserved and are a sign of the district from which the tradition of the church came.

But the division between the two bays of the nave was not confined to these arches. Below in the columns are marks which imply that two screens ran across the church, separating the bays from one another and from the space under the central tower. If we turn to Eusebius, whom so far we have been able to illustrate, we shall find that the language he uses is by no means clear, but that this much seems evident, that besides the large multitude who on ritual grounds were supposed never to enter into the church, there were two different classes, the 'audientes' and the 'substrati,' to whom different places were assigned within it. This church then shows signs of having been adapted to these divisions.<sup>13</sup>

(2) One of the most striking features of the architecture of the church is the double tier of columns supporting arches which divide the nave from the aisles. Above the main row of pillars is a second somewhat resembling the triforium arches of an English cathedral, but very much bolder and more effective.<sup>14</sup> This probably implies that there was a gallery of wood built over the

<sup>11</sup> R. Adam, *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro*, 1764, Pl. 45.

<sup>12</sup> De Vogüé, *op. cit.* Pl. 7.

<sup>13</sup> Eus. *H. E.* X. iv. 63, δικαιοσύνη δὴτα οικοδομῶν κατ' ἄξιον τοῦ παντός λαοῦ δέηται τὰς δυνάμεις (1) οἷς μὲν τὸν ἔξωθεν αὐτὸ μόνον περιφράττων περίβολον, (2) οἷς δὲ τὰς ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον ἐπιτρέπων εἰσόδους... (3) ἄλλως δὲ πρώτοις τοῖς ἔξωθεν ἄμφω τὴν αὐλήν ἐκ τετραγώνου κίονιν ὑποστήριξε... (4) τοὺς δ' ἡδὲ ἄμφω τὸν βασιλεῖον οἶκον ἐκατέρωθεν παραξέειργονον, ἔτι

μὲν κατηχομένους καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ προκοπῇ καθεστῶτας, οἱ μὲν πόρῳ του καὶ μακρὰν τῆς τῶν ἐνδοτάτω θεοπτίας τῶν πιστῶν διεξευγμένους.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Laborde's description, *op. cit.* p. 126, 'La galerie supérieure, ornée de colonnes et percée de fenêtres, donne à cet intérieur un air grandiose et aérien qui présente à l'archéologue de l'ornementation et la grandeur vraiment antique de l'appareil, un spectacle nouveau et séduisant.'



aisles. This is corroborated by the fact that the main windows in the south wall are very high up and are adapted for lighting the gallery and not the aisles below. Entrance to these galleries could be gained either from the top of the rock which forms the north wall or by a staircase in the portico, as is explained above. Such galleries appear to have been almost universal in early churches and were generally used for women. They are called the *ὑπερῶα* and are still very common in the East.<sup>15</sup>

(3) The aisles are divided below from the nave by a low stone wall which may have served for seats, and by a screen, as may be judged by the marks in the columns. The aisles themselves terminate in a small apse or recess through which was an opening into the chamber beyond. A somewhat similar termination to the aisles, with a doorway into chambers beyond, may be seen in the fifth century church of the Red Monastery, near Sohag in Upper Egypt.

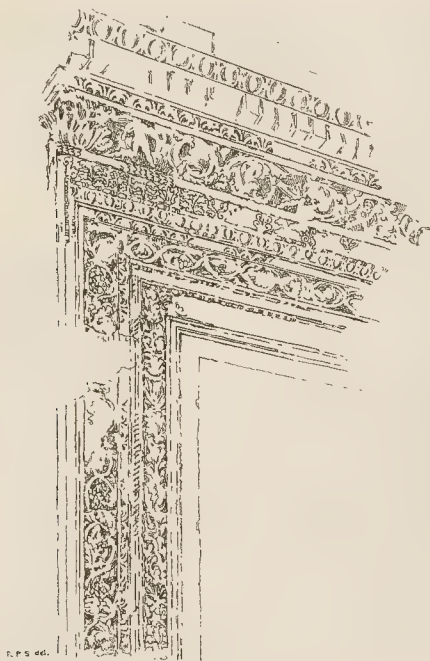


FIG. 6.—DOORWAY AT BAALBEC.

(4) The nave properly so called was formed by the space under the central tower, and is approximately square. This corresponds with the description of a Christian church given in a letter of the Emperors Valentinus and Theodosius, who speak of the three parts of the church, the holy *θυσιαστήρια*, the *εὐκτήριον τοῦ λαοῦ*, which is square, and the space beyond these to the outer doorway of the church.<sup>16</sup>

The tower is supported by arches resting on four large columns, the capitals of which are elaborately carved with birds worked into the foliage; one of these columns has fallen. It was

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Greg. Naz. *Carm. de Temp. Anast.* i. 1, xvi. 20, pp. 844–845.

αἱ δ' ἄρ' ἀφ' ἐξηλὼν τεγέων εὐκοσμον ἀκαυῇ  
ἀγναὶ παρθενικαὶ κλῖνον ἅμ' ἐσθλογάμοις.

<sup>16</sup> Labb. *Conc.* t. 3, p. 1296, ἐπὶ γὰρ τῶν ἡμετέρων καιρῶν οὐ μόνον τὰ θεία θυσιαστήρια καὶ τὸ εὐκτήριον τοῦ λαοῦ τὸ τετράγωνον τοίχων περιβολῇ τεχιζόμενον εἰς ἀσφάλειαν συντελεῖν τῶν προσφευγόντων θεσπίζομεν, ἀλλ' εἴ τι καὶ περαιτέρον τούτου τυγχάνει, ἄχρι τῶν τελευταίων θυρῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας.

one story higher than the body of the church and was probably surmounted by a low-pitched roof of wood; the angles of the corners were rounded above, and the roof was partly supported by small columns springing from very elaborately carved brackets. In the south-east angle the design was of bunches of grapes, in the south-west of rams' heads, in the north-west a basket containing fruit. In the north-east angle the ornament is more conventional.

The question has been raised, Was the tower surmounted by a pitched roof as described above or by a dome? It has been suggested in favour of the latter alternative that the transition from the quadrilateral to the octagonal form in the upper part of the tower would naturally seem to be the halfway step to a dome. Many buildings in Anatolia at the present day, especially Turkish baths,



FIG. 7.—INTERIOR VIEW IN CHURCH LOOKING WEST.

have a square tower from which rises an octagonal base, and from this again a dome. But the angles are not sufficiently cut off to make the upper part of the dome octagonal. The splayed angles are not structural pendentives leading up to a dome. The upper part of the tower is and appears square but with the corners slightly rounded, and not octagonal. Against the dome the following two points seem to be conclusive. There is no sign of *débris* in the church sufficient to have formed a dome, and the upper courses of masonry remain intact; if there had been a dome above which had fallen in it must have carried with it some of the masonry of the tower.

(5) Another feature of interest is the horseshoe character of the arches. This appears to have been a local peculiarity, and examples may be seen in the drawings of Maden Shehr in Lycaonia made by Laborde (Pl. 66).

(6) The chancel and apse do not call for much remark. The latter is entirely internal, as is the case in the majority of the oldest known churches, for example in the very old ones in Africa at Reparatus near Orleansville, in those of the Red and White Monasteries in Upper Egypt, which certainly date from the fifth century, and in the oldest among the churches of old Cairo; but these last have a characteristic of later churches—the three chapels. In the present church the place of the two side chapels is taken by chambers such as are found also in the Red and White Monasteries, in a small church the ground plan of which exists among the ruins of the island of Philae, and in some of those figured by De Vogué. At the extreme east of the apse was a raised stone stand for the bishop's chair, while all round ran a stone ledge marking the seats of the presbyters. The north wall of the church was formed by the rock against which it was built.

Taking the church as a whole it seems to represent an almost unique design. At first sight it might be judged to be a basilica of the older type, but it differs from this by the presence of the tower. It has not the continuous row of equal columns which marks the ordinary basilica. But it is equally removed from the later Byzantine type of church, and seems to represent a transition

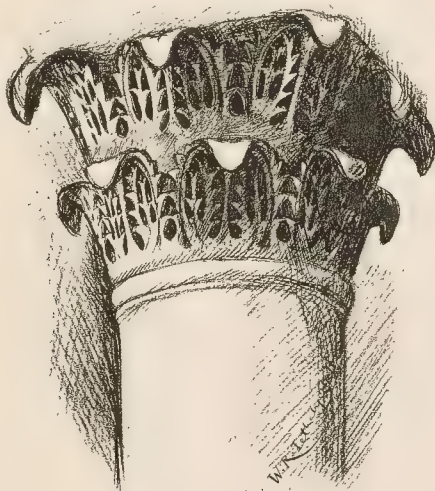


FIG. 8.—A DETAIL OF ONE OF THE CAPITALS.

from the older oblong basilica to the later Byzantine church with the central dome. The ornament is equally interesting—it is very rich, very well preserved, and sculptured with boldness and freedom, although perhaps wanting in delicacy. With the exception of a cross on the central doorway, there is nothing which can be called distinctively Christian, the vine and the fish, although rapidly adopted by Christianity, being of course found as pre-Christian designs. The only portion of the monument which seems to represent a formed Byzantine type is the capitals of the columns, which have all the characteristics of work which might, but need not necessarily, be as late as the time of Justinian.<sup>17</sup>

The beautiful character of the masonry throughout this building ought also to be specially noted. The regular courses of squared and closely fitted stones which are built without mortar as in good Greek times; the manner in which over every lintel an open joint is left of about two inches deep and the full width of the opening below in order to keep all direct weight off the centre of the stone and so prevent it from couching; the cutting and fitting of the arch stones; the pillars and capitals all show careful and excellent craftsmanship.

<sup>17</sup> On these capitals compare Laborde, p. 126, 'ornés de chapiteaux d'un grand caractère et dont le dessin marque une fusion de reminiscences antiques et de style byzantine.' And on the general character of the architecture, *i.e.*,

'Nous avons dans ces montagnes l'exemple le plus frappant d'une fusion secrète de l'architecture antique avec l'architecture orientale et byzantine, et le lien, caché aussi, de celle-ci avec l'architecture arabe.'



We have next to refer to such evidence as we have of the date of the church.

(1) We have first the epitaph of an inhabitant of the monastery called Tarasis.<sup>15</sup> At a spot marked in the plan as the Tomb of Tarasis Mr. Hogarth copied the epitaph of a monk of that name. It had been previously copied by Laborde, and under the auspices of the late Dr. Hatch had been made to play some part in ecclesiastical controversy. Into that question we need not now enter, for his use of the epitaph was based on a mistranslation very natural to any scholar who was not acquainted with the study of inscriptions. For us it is important as giving a date. Tarasis cut the inscription himself in his own lifetime and asserted that he—the son of a father of the same name—was presbyter and *παραιμόνδιος* (a word which is translated either custodian of the church or bailiff) from a certain year of the indiction in the consulship of Gadalaiphus. Space is left for the date of his death and his age, but the numbers have never been inserted. The name Gadalaiphus or Dagalaiphus occurs twice in the list of consuls, in 366 and 461. We might hope that the year of the indiction would help us, but unfortunately the reading is uncertain. It may be the tenth year of the indiction, it may be the fourteenth. The first Dagalaiphus was consul in the tenth year of an indiction, the second in the fourteenth. It will be seen by referring to the discussion given at the end of this paper that the balance of probability is in favour of the reading 14, and that in all probability Tarasis first became a monk on the spot in the year 461. However we translate the word *παραιμόνδιος* the fact that he held such an office proves that there was already a monastery on the spot in the year 461, and by consequence a church. It does not of course prove that this was the church, it may have been a later addition to the structure; but it makes it probable that the present church was then standing, for there are no signs of an earlier one.

(2) Our second source of evidence is much more uncertain. Procopius says that Justinian restored a monastery at Apadna in Isauria.<sup>16</sup> There is of course no certain evidence for calling this monastery Apadna; but it is in the Byzantine province of Isauria, its size and character show that it must have been a place of importance before the time of Justinian, some of the buildings may well have been added by him and are worthy of him, and there is no other ecclesiastical site in the province which can vie with it, so far as we are aware.

If this site be Apadna, the notice of Procopius proves that there already existed previous to the time of Justinian a church and monastery in this place, and that there was a restoration, to what extent we do not know, under Justinian. The epitaph of Tarasis traces the foundation of the monastery to a period as early as the first half of the fifth century. With the exception of some alterations in the portico, the church in my opinion shows no sign of restoration or addition—it represents a single design and a single date. From the middle of the fifth century until the time of Justinian Isauria was in a disturbed condition, and it is unlikely that a church could be built during that period. We are reduced to the conclusion that the church was built either before the middle of the fifth century or during the time of Justinian.

Let us turn to the evidence given by the structure. It could not be earlier than the beginning of the fifth century for it lies east and west, *i.e.* with the altar at the east end—and previous to this date all churches were, as far as we know, built like the heathen temples, west and east; but all the other evidence points in my opinion to a date in the fifth century and not later.<sup>20</sup>

The plan of the church represents the transition from the older basilican form to the later domed church of Justinian. The absence of an external apse, the chambers of the sanctuary, the apsidal terminations to the sides, all seem to point to the earlier date. So too does the style of ornament and the absence of more definite Christian symbolism. Again the absence of a dome seems to preclude a church of the time of Justinian. On the other hand a later date might perhaps be implied by the capitals of the pillars in the nave.

Without speaking dogmatically—and I am certainly not qualified to do so—I am inclined at present to hold, until further light be thrown on the subject, that the church should be dated, as the epitaph of Tarasis suggests, to the first half of the fifth century.

<sup>15</sup> The epitaph is edited below, p. 24.

<sup>16</sup> Procopius, *de aedificiis*, v. 9, *μοναστήριον ἐς τὸ Ἀπάδνας ἐν Ἰσαυρίᾳ... ἀνέστυρατο*.

<sup>20</sup> In the fourth century the altar seems to have been always at the west end, in the fifth the change took place

and the position at the east end became the normal one. The earliest known and dated example of the later custom appears to be in 417. See Kraus, *Realencyklopädie der christlichen Alterthümer*, s.v. Orientirung, and the authorities there cited.

Let us end by reconstructing as far as we can the history of the site.

The beginning of Monasticism in Asia Minor dates from the year 357 or 358, when Basil of Caesarea returned from a visit to Egypt, Syria, and Mesopotamia full of zeal for the asceticism which was everywhere springing up, and became the vigorous promoter of the new ideal of life in his own country. Under him the coenobitic life was introduced into Asia Minor, and in the next few years monasteries spread everywhere throughout the country. But a more special influence may have operated in promoting its spread in Isauria. In the year 375 Gregory of Nazianzus disappeared suddenly from public life and retired to Seleucia, where he lived in seclusion, attached to the shrine of St. Thecla—already famous—for three years.<sup>21</sup> It is possible that his influence may have helped in the foundation of monasteries in Isauria.

However that may be, some time probably not long after the rise of Monasticism in Asia Minor, the place called Koja Kalessi became the resort of hermits. The sites of Christian monasteries in the early Church seem to have been determined by two main causes. Either they succeeded to a heathen temple, and a locality already sacred in popular tradition (to this type the monastery of Daphni near Athens belongs, which succeeded to a temple of Apollo), or else they grew up in spots which had been made famous by the sanctity of Christian hermits, or tradition. Such sites are Mount Athos and the monasteries of St. Anthony and St. Paul by the Red Sea. These latter would of course be built in places removed as far as possible from any signs of the old religion. To this latter class Koja Kalessi belongs. The place is quite unlike any which would be chosen for a heathen temple, there are no traces of any remains of an earlier building, the church is in no place built of material which has been used up a second time, all the workmanship belongs to the period of the church itself. The place was chosen then as a resort of hermits.

We know something, from an often quoted letter of Basil the Great, of the motives which inspired the Christian hermit in his search after a place of retirement. He has described to us his own retreat in Pontus. It was a place exactly corresponding to his taste. He tells us of the lofty mountain and the beech woods and the cool and transparent streams and the view on the great plains below. 'What need to tell of the exhalations from the earth, or the breezes from the river? another might admire the multitude of flowers and singing birds. Leisure he has none for such thoughts. But the chief praise of the place is that it nurtures what to him is the greatest produce of all—quietness.'<sup>22</sup> Solitude and beautiful scenery the hermit and the monk always seemed to long for; for the refining influence of their religion seems to have awakened among the Christian solitaries of the fourth and following centuries that love of nature which has since become a commonplace of the literary world, and solitude and beautiful scenery he will find in the elevated terrace of Koja Kalessi. The view from the mountain plateau over two great river valleys and the wooded slopes of Taurus, with the gorge of the Calycadnus below, is of extreme beauty. A spring close at hand supplied water, and the cave now outside the monastery gate would form the first home of the hermit, like the caves of St. Anthony and St. Paul in the desert by the Red Sea. Probably the fame of some hermit made the place famous and a monastery grew up on the spot. If the results of our previous investigation be correct, the monastery and church were built in the first half of the fifth century. In the troublous times that followed when the mountains of Isauria were the scene of a great deal of wild turbulence, the monastery fell into decay, and this may be the reason why the epitaph of Tarasis was never completed. It may even be that he left the monastery in his lifetime. Repairs were made by Justinian and to his time may perhaps belong the big reception hall with its doorway which seems to be of a later period; but with the Persian and Saracen invasions of the seventh century it would again be deserted, and probably has so remained to the present day. Its remote situation and the absence of any population near have preserved it undestroyed to our own time.

<sup>21</sup> πρῶτον μὲν ἦλθον εἰς Σελεύκειαν φυγὰς  
τὸν παρθενῶνα τῆς ἀοιδίμου κόρης  
Θέκλας.

Greg. Naz. *Carm.* ii. 1, xi. 547, pp. 702, 703.

The word παρθενῶν is ordinarily translated 'nunnery,' and with that meaning it is used in later times. But it is unlikely that Gregory would go to a nunnery. On the other hand it is probable that he would attach himself to

the shrine of the Virgin Thecla, and become one of the attendant priests. In that case the use of the word is interesting. The principal temple in Seleucia was of Athena, and the worship, the name, and the cult could all be transferred to the Christian virgin.

<sup>22</sup> See Basil, *Opp.* I. xiv. I have made use of Newman's translation, *Historical Sketches*, ii. p. 59.

## § 2.—KESTEL OR DA BAZAR [COROPISSUS-SEBILIA-HIEROPOLIS].

The second site to be described is not of great importance. There are two roads over the mountains from Mut to Karaman: the first goes up the northern branch of the Calycadnus valley, and it is near this that Koja Kalessi is situated; the alternative route is somewhat further to the east. It appears to pass near the site called Sinabich (Dalisandos), inscriptions from which are given below, and then enters the mountains; a few hours before it reaches the summit of the pass it passes near the Kestel Yaila, and below this at a site now called Da Bazar are the ruins of a considerable town. This route was traversed and the ruins have been described by the Rev. E. Davis.<sup>23</sup> We approached it from Karaman, from which it is distant about 10 hours. These ruins have been identified by Prof. Ramsay with a town which was called at various dates Coropissus, Hieropolis, and Sebilia. It was of Roman foundation; in Byzantine times it became the centre of a bishopric, and the materials were used for erecting a strong place of the kingdom of Lower Armenia, visited by Frederic Barbarossa when he crossed the mountains from Karaman to Selefki, just before his death.<sup>24</sup>



FIG. 9.—S.E. VIEW OF THE CHURCH AT KESTEL.

The ruins are considerable, but for the most part destitute of interest, and we only found one almost undecipherable inscription on the spot. The most conspicuous and best preserved are those of a church, of which a plan and photograph are here given. It has the appearance of having been built on foundations dating from an early period, perhaps those of the temple that it succeeded, and was surrounded by a large peribolus wall. Although probably early—being not later than the time of Justinian—it has no features of great interest. The plan is simple. At the west end was a structural narthex. From this the church was entered by three doors. It consisted of a nave with two aisles. The nave ends in a bema and apse which is partly external, the aisles in side chambers. There was no ornament of any interest. The church seems certainly later and of a more conventional type than that at Koja Kalessi.

<sup>23</sup> *Life in Asiatic Turkey*, by E. J. Davis, p. 325.

<sup>24</sup> See Ramsay, *Historical Geography*, p. 366, 369. I have not thought it necessary to go into further detail on the topography of the district, as the geographical results of

our journey have been described by Mr. Hogarth in the *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, Suppl. Papers*, 1892.



It only remains to express the obligations which the Asia Minor Exploration Fund is under to Mr. Schultz and Mr. Barnsley for the trouble they have taken in enabling us to produce a satisfactory account of the church at Kojā Kalessi. We are indebted to them for the plans, and

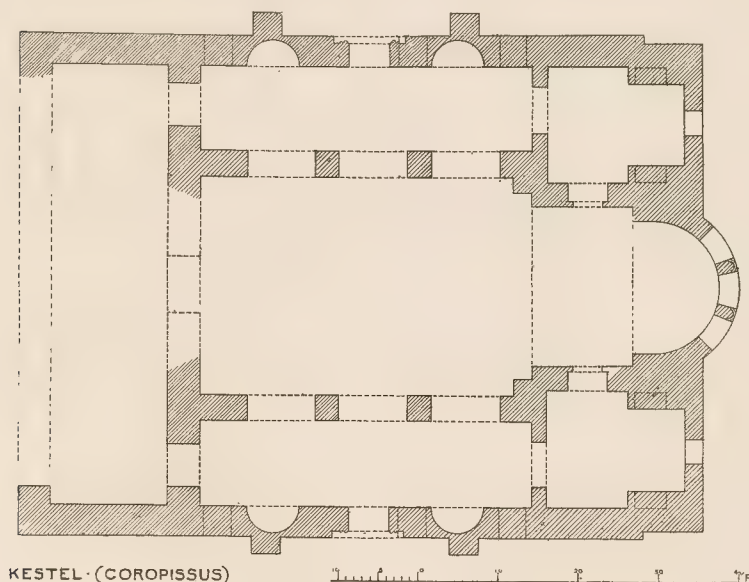


FIG. 10.—PLAN OF THE CHURCH AT KESTEL.

for bestowing more labour on other persons' work than many would do on their own. I have also to thank them for many hints and illustrations which they have given me regarding the architecture and the analogy to other buildings.

### § 3.—NOTES ON OTHER ECCLESIASTICAL REMAINS IN ASIA MINOR.

Professor Ramsay has at my request drawn up the following notes concerning Ecclesiastical Remains in Asia Minor, which may serve to indicate how much work still remains to be done in this direction.

1. Phrygia 1.—There are among the Phrygian mountains a considerable number of rock-cut churches and other remains of hermits, and one curious group of chambers near Seidilar which has all the appearance of being a monastery. One of the churches beside Ayaz Inn is, though small, an almost perfect specimen of a domed church of perhaps the sixth or seventh century. These remains are scattered over the country of the rock monuments, especially near Ayaz Inn and Seidilar. Near Bayat, on the rock at Assar Kumbert Kale, part of an old church painting remained in 1881.

2.—There are many churches of which the ground-plan and part of the walls remain; *e.g.* at Kolossae, Apameia, Hierapolis, etc. Some of these would certainly prove to be of much interest; but all would require excavation before anything could be learned about them.

II. Cappadocia. The enormous groups of rock-cuttings at Uch Hissar and Soghanli Dere are well known and have often been described. They are curious, but do not appear to yield much information. I have not seen them, and can only judge by report. Similar groups, which I have seen, exist at Gelvere in the territory of Nazianzos and at Matchan. Gelvere preserves the name of Karbala, the patrimonial estate of Gregory of Nazianzos; and is full of traces and relics of him. It claims to possess also the head of St. John the Evangelist. It is a large, prosperous, and wonderfully picturesque village: the rock-cuttings are quaint but, so far as we saw them during a hurried visit, little can be learned from them. More careful examination however might perhaps prove instructive.

Matchan, the late Byzantine bishopric *Mariavh*, lies three hours east of Nev Sheher. I spent a few hours there in 1882. There are here numberless rock-cut chambers, tombs, and churches. I observed several of the latter which contained numerous graffitti in red paint. Several days would have been needed to examine the place properly. I copied a considerable number of the graffitti, but left many unattempted; the following may serve as specimens:

(1) Βασίλειος Ουαλέντι κακὸς ἐπίσκας (ἐποίησας) ἔτη ἀπέδοκας τὴν ἐκ[η]σίαν τῷ κακοδόξῳ Ἀριανῷ (i.e. τοῖς κακοδόξοις Ἀριανοῖς?).

(2) ΚΒΥΛΟΟΕ	καὶ βουλοθέ- (?)
ΤΟCΤΗCΕ	το[ί]ς τῆς ἐ-
ΚΑΙCΗΥΞΑΤΟ	εκ[η]σί[α]ς ἠῦξατο
ΟΙΑΡΙΑΝΥΤΡΙC	οἱ Ἀριανὸν τρεῖς
ΗΜCΡΑC	ἡμέρας.

(3) ΥΚΝΥ	οὐ κύν (κοινοῦ)
ΓΗΝΑΥΤΥCΙΕ	γῆν αὐτῶς (αὐτοῖς) ἰ ἐ-
ΚΑΙCΙΑ	κλισία.

(4) ὁ δὲ ἄγιος Βασίλειος συνάξας τοὺς Χριστιανούς.

III. Lycaonia and Isauria contain the best preserved Christian monuments which I have seen. Their name is legion. The most interesting are:

(1) Bin Bir Kilisse (Thousand and One churches), the ancient Barata, where about a score of churches, none however of high architectural value, are standing in various degrees of dilapidation.

(2) Kilisra, about seven miles north-west from Khatyn Serai (the ancient Lystra). The rock-cut churches and tombs here are the most beautiful and the best preserved that I have seen. One very tiny church was a perfect gem, so tiny and so complete in its miniature architecture, and so well preserved.

(3) It is quite certain that many others remain to be discovered in these districts.

(4) At Olba, about a mile down the ravine which runs towards the sea from the fortifications of Oura, there is a monastery high up on the eastern precipice. We saw it when returning from a three days' excursion to Corycos; but were so tired, and so utterly devoid of energy, that we did not climb up the steep side of the ravine to examine. It occupied the same kind of situation as Koja Kalessi, being perched on a long narrow ledge in the face of a mountain. The buildings seemed to be in excellent preservation.

#### INSCRIPTIONS FROM CILICIA TRACHEA (ISAURIA).

The following inscriptions were copied for the most part by Prof. Ramsay and Mr. Hogarth, to whom I am also indebted for the greater part of the work required in editing them.

(1) Mut: in the courtyard of the school (Mekteb), opposite the castle and mosque. On a sarcophagus. Tall thin letters. W. M. R.

ΧΑΙΡΕΤΕ ΤΙΤΟΣ ΦΛΑΟΥΙΟΣ ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΗΣ  
ΕΠΟΙΕΙΑΥΤΩ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΑΣΩΤΗΡΙΔΙ ΤΗΣΥΛΒΙΩ  
ΠΑΡΑΓΓΕΛΛΕΙΤΕΛΛΗΝΙΕΤΕΡΩΤΕΘΗΝΑΙΕΝΤΩΤΑΦΩΤΟΥΤΩΕΑΝΔΕΤΙΣ  
ΠΕΙΡΑΣΕΙΤΟΥΘΕΙΝΑΙΟΥΤΟΣΑΝΕΝΕΚΕΙΕΙΣΤΟΙΕΡΟΝΤΗΣΠΟΛΙΑΔΟΣΑΘΗΝΑΣ  
ΔΗΝΑΡΙΧΕΙΛΙΑΚΑΙΤΩΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝΔΗΛΩΔΗΝΑΡΙΧΕΙΛΙΑ (sic)

Χαίρετε. Τίτος Φλαούιος Δημοσθένης  
ἐποίησεν αὐτῷ καὶ Ἀντωνίᾳ Σωτηρίδι τῇ συμβίῳ  
παράγγελλει τε μηδενὶ ἐτέρῳ τεθῆναι ἐν τῷ τάφῳ τούτῳ, ἐὰν δέ τις  
πειράσῃ τοῦ θείναι οὗτος ἀνένεκεν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Πολιάδος Ἀθηνᾶς  
δηνάρια χεῖλια καὶ τῷ Κλαυδίουπολεῖτῳ δῆμῳ δηνάρια χεῖλια.

This inscription confirms one of Leake's many brilliant conjectures. He first placed Claudiopoli at Mut, and he has been followed by all or almost all subsequent writers, but no epigraphic evidence of the fact was known previously. We may add that we purchased a copper coin of 'Claudiopolis' of the reign of Hadrian at Karaman in July, 1890. The similarity of fabric and style to those of other Cilician coins and the place of *provenance* are considered by Messrs. Wroth and Head of the British Museum satisfactory proof that Professor Ramsay's suggestion was right, and that it is the *Cilician* Claudiopoli to which the coin must be ascribed. No other coin of this town is known as yet, and our solitary example is now in the British Museum.

(2) Mut: high in the outer wall of the castle, facing the mosque, read with a glass.  
W. M. R.

ΠΡΟΑΣΤΙΩ  
ΑΠΙ  
ΟΛΥΜΠΙΩ  
ΗΠΟΛΙΣ

προαστίω  
[Δ]εῖ  
Ὀλυμπίῳ  
ἡ πόλις

From this and the preceding inscription we obtain the names of two of the temples of Claudiopoli, one of Athena Polias, presumably within the city, the other of Zeus Olympius, before the city gates. In both cases Greek names are applied to gods, who were probably native to the country and akin in type to Zeus Asbamaios of Tyana and Ma of Comana.

(3) Mut: in a Turbe beside the mosque.

ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΔΗΣ ΤΡΟ  
ΙΩΚΑΙΝΕΙΚΗΤΗΓΥ  
ΝΑΙΚΙΚΑΙΔΟΜΝΕΙΝΩ  
(sic) ΑΛΛΩΔΕΝΙΕΞΟΝΕΙ  
5 ΝΑΙΗΔΩΓΕΙΤΩΤΑΜΕΙΩ

Διοσκούριδης Τρο[φί  
μ]ῳ καὶ Νείκῃ τῇ γυ-  
ναϊκὶ καὶ Δομνείνῳ  
ἄλλῳ δὲ [οὐδ]ενὶ ἔξδ' ἐν-  
ναι ἢ δώσει τῷ ταμείῳ [ἥ]?

The name in 1, 2 is uncertain, as the edges of the stone are broken, perhaps Τρο[φίμ]ῳ; but probably, if the stone were complete, it would be found that line 1 extended further than the rest on both sides, and that the reading is

Ἀντ. Διοσκούριδης Τρο [ . . . ἐαυτ]ῷ καὶ Νείκῃ

(4) Mut: seven minutes along the Selefke road on the left hand side, on a large sarcophagus.

ΑΠΙΣ. ΟΦΙΑΕ  
ΣΚΕΥΑΣΕΝ ΤΗΝ ΛΑΡΝΑΝ  
ΕΑΥΤΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΩ ΑΝΔΡΙ  
ΚΑΙ ΤΩ ΠΑΤΡΙ ΑΜΑ ΜΗΤΡΙ  
5 ΚΑΙ ΤΩ ΓΕΝΕΙ ΤΗΣ ΟΦΙΑΣ  
ΑΛΩΔΕΜΗΔΕΝΙΕ//ΟΝΕΠ.Ι. ΒΑΛΙΝ

Ἀπισ Ὀφία Ε . . . [κατε-]  
σκεύασεν τὴν λαρνὰν  
ἑαυτῇ τε καὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ  
καὶ τῷ πατρὶ ἅμα μητρί  
καὶ τῷ γένει τῆς Ὀφίας  
ἄλλῳ δὲ μηδενὶ ἔξδ' ἐπιβαλὼν.



τῷ γένει τῆς 'Οφίας: cf. the inscriptions of Sinabich Nos. 13 and 31, 'Ινδας Μοντάνου τοῦ Ἀ γένου, and on the female name see the note introducing No. 26 sq.

Prof. Ramsay suggests Ἀὐρ. Σοφία and line 5 τῆς Σοφίας. If this restoration is right the inscription is doubtless Christian.

(5) Mut: in the Regie office.

ΑΥΡΗΛΙΑΕΛΛΙΧΛΛΗ	Ἀὐρηλία Ἐμύση μή-
ΤΗΡΕΑΥΤΗΚΑΙ	τηρ εἰαυτῇ<ς> καὶ
ΤΟΙΣΤΕΚΝΟΙΚΑΥΤ>	τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτ(ῆς)
ΚΑΙΛΛΗΑΝΙΕΤΕΡΩ	καὶ μῆ(δ)ενὶ ἐτέρῳ
ΕΞΟΝΕΙΝΑΙΕΠΕΛΒΑ	ἐξὸν εἶναι ἐπεμβα-
ΛΕΙΝΙΕΙΔΕΛΛΗΔΩΣΙ	λεῖν εἰ δὲ μὴ δώσει
ΤΩΤΑΛΛΕΙΩΒΦΚΑΙ	τῷ ταμείῳ (ἐφημέριῳ) βφ' καὶ
ΤΗΠΟΛΕΙΤΑΥΤΑ	τῇ πόλει τὰ αὐτά.

(6) Mut: in the Regie office, belonging to Demetrius. Late letters.

ΩΝΧΕΡΕΟΕΥΦΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΙ

Below, on a segment of a circle, in the centre of which is a fragment of the Christian monogram ☩:

... ΩΝΕΝΘΑΔΕΚΙΤΕΠ...

Τρύψ]ων χ(α)ρ(ε)σθ(αι) εὐφρ(ο)νο(ύ)μενοι...  
Τρύψ]ων ἐνθάδε κίτε π[ρεσβ.

The proper name may end in -ρων or -φων. Perhaps we ought to read εὐφρονουμενοις (the C being added as an afterthought and placed wrongly, so that it has become attached to the N), wishes good fortune to the 'discreet,' i.e. the Christians. The restriction of the salutation to co-religionists belongs to the fourth century or later (a date which is also demanded by the monogram ☩, and the title π[ρεσβύτερος], if the restoration is right)—see *J.H.S.* 1883, p. 406 sq.

(7) Kojā Kalessi (Apadna?). In a tomb marked in the plan.

†ΕΝΘΑΔΕΚΑΤΑΚΙΤΕ	†ἐνθάδε κατάκιτε
ΤΑΡΑΣΙΔΑΙΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΣ	Τάρασις δις γενόμενος
ΠΡΕΣΒΣΚΑΙΠΑΡΑΜΟΝΑΡΙΟΣ	πρεσβ(ύτερος) καὶ παραμονάριος
ΠΑΡΟΙΚΗΣΑCΕΝΤΩΤΟΠΩ	παροικήσας ἐν τῷ τόπῳ
5 ΤΟΥΤΩΑΠΟΥΠΑΤΙΑCΓΑΔΑ	τούτῳ ἀπὸ ὑπατίας Γαδα-
ΛΑΙΠΠΟΥΙΝΔΣΙΧΕΩCΙΝΔS	λ[α]ίππου ἐνδ(εκτιώνος) ἐδ' (ἵ) ἕως ἐνδ(εκτιώνος)
ΥΠΑΤΙΑC ΖΗΣΑCΤΑ	ὑπατίας Ζήσας τὰ
ΠΑΝΤΑΕΤΗ	πάντα ἔτη

Copied by D. G. H. See also Laborde, *Revue Archéologique*, iv. (1847) p. 175 and *C.I.G.* iv. 9259.

2. ΠΕΝΟΜΕΝΟC . || . 6. ΛΑΙΠΠΟΥΙΝΔS ΙΧ

The inscription seems to have been cut by Tarasis during his lifetime with blank spaces to be filled in on his death; this was never done.

Τάρασις] The name seems to have been very common in this district, cf. Sterrett, *Wolfe Expedition*, 59, 60, 97, etc.; in 97 a Tarasis commemorates his brother a deacon Τάρασις Νηόος | ἐπέστησεν στήλην | Σβηνώμι ἀδελφῷ | αὐτοῦ διακόνῳ |.

Τάρασις δις] Tarasis the son of Tarasis, see Ramsay, *Oxford Magazine*, Vol. ix. No. 24 (1891), p. 411, and cf. Reinach, *Epigraphie Grecque*, p. 508. This idiom is so common, especially in inscriptions of Asia Minor, that it is hardly necessary to give instances. It is commonest

perhaps in the form β'; this occurs for example more than ten times in a long list of names edited by Sterrett, *Wolfe Expedition*, No. 366; Ramsay, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1883, p. 23. For δῖς and τρίς and τετράκις, which also occur, see Sterrett, *Wolfe Expedition*, 555, 609, *Αἰρ. Μάρκος Μάρκου δῖς*, and Ramsay, 'Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia,' *J.H.S.* 1883, § ix. p. 393, No. 14, *Αἰρ. Εἰδομένης τετράκις*.

But the inscription and the interpretation of these words have had a curious history. First published by Laborde in 1847 and by Boeckh in the fourth volume of the *Corpus*, it remained unnoticed until Dr. Hatch, with the thoroughness which he always displayed in collecting matter to illustrate his arguments, made use of it to prove the possibility of reordination, taking δῖς with γενόμενος. He refers to it *Dict. Ch. Ant.* Vol. ii. p. 1520, *Bampton Lectures* (ed. 3) p. 137, n. 51, and his use of the passage is accepted by Harnack (*Die Gesellschaftsverfassung der Christlichen Kirchen im Alterthum*, p. 234, n. 13), who however does seem somewhat startled by this isolated example of reordination in the fifth century, at a time when the usage was admittedly fixed. Mr. Gore (*The Church and the Ministry*, ed. 1, p. 189, n. 1) points out that the two expressions πρεσβύτερος and παραμονάριος should be taken together, and that the words would merely imply that 'Tarasis was twice appointed presbyter and residentiary of this church.' As against Hatch and Harnack this would probably have been preferable, but the interpretation given above, which is certainly right, removes all difficulty.

[παραμονάριος] There is some doubt about the meaning of this word. In the Second Canon of Chalcedon it occurs as a various reading for προσμονάριος, and is coupled with οἰκονόμος (the church steward) and ἐκδικος ('defensor'). In one of the Councils of Constantinople the παραμονάριοι are coupled with the ξενοδόχοι. In *Conc. Nic.* ii. 5. 7 we have εἰ τις ἐπίσκοπος προβάλλοιτο ἐπὶ χρήμασι οἰκονόμον ἢ ἐκδικον ἢ παραμονάριον ἢ ὕλως τινὰ τῶν κλήρων. All these passages—although none is decisive—seem somewhat to support the interpretation given by Beveridge of 'villicus' or 'baillif.' On the other hand one of the Latin interpreters of the canon of Chalcedon translates 'mansionarius,' i.e. a resident officer who had charge of the church and its utensils (Du Cange, 'Custos Ecclesiae'); and that meaning suits the probable derivation of the word and is not inconsistent with the passages quoted above. See Du Cange, *sub voc.*; Bingham, *Ant.* 1. 360; Bright, *Notes on the Canons of the First Four Councils*, p. 129.

[ἰνδικτιῶνος ιδ'] The final question remains of the date of the inscription. We have to guide us two facts, the name of the consul and the indiction, but neither is free from ambiguity.

The name Gadalaiphus occurs twice in the list of consuls, in 366 and in 461, in the form Dagalaiphus or Dagalaifus. Now taking the system of indictions which began on Sept. 1, which was the earliest in use, the year 366 corresponds to the years 9—10 of the indiction, and considering how late the indiction began, more probably to the year 9; the year 461 to the years 14—15. The reading of the inscription is unfortunately doubtful. The ι' is certain, the next letter much damaged; it may be merely a mark of contraction or it may be a δ'. Laborde seems so to have read it, and Mr Hogarth, who copied the inscription, has no doubt that this was the reading. In the former case the date will be 366, in the latter 461, and the balance of probability distinctly inclines to the latter.

(8) Kōja Kalessi.

+ΝΕΩΝΑΚΑ

Νέων 'Ακα[.

(9)

+ΚΙΑ[|||||ι|||ι|||ι|||ι|||]

ΚΑ[78.... Cf. No. 14 below.

(10)

+ΩΠΩΚΟ

ΝΩΓΩΚΩ

ΝΙΟΥ

The name Κόνων, which is very common in Lycia and Isauria, is probable here.

(11) Da Bazar (COROPISSUS): stone built into east wall of unfinished mosque south of the ancient wall of the city. Letters large of late date, and much defaced.

Τ=ΘC . . . . ΙΓΤΙΙCΔΕCΠΘΙΝΗC . . .  
 ΕΜΕΛΙΟ . ΟΕΝΤΑΡΑΙΑΡΙΤΙΝΟ  
 ΤΡ . ΚΛΕΟC . Α . Π'ΗΜΩΝΦΛ  
 ΕΤΟΥC . ΚΕ

τῆς δεσποίνης [θ-  
 εμελλω[θ]εν [π]αρά Μαρτίνο[υ] 'Ια- (?)  
 τρ[ό]κλεος τ[ῆ]ς (δ)[ε]σπό[ύ]του) ἡμῶν φλ . . .  
 ἔτους κε'

The lettering of the inscription is so much worn that the reading and interpretation are very doubtful.

ἔτους κε' probably gives a date, and means the twenty-fifth year of the δεσπότης, either a bishop or emperor; and φλ' may represent the era of the province.

#### Sinabich (DALISANDOS).

The twenty-four inscriptions which follow were copied by Mr. Hogarth from sarcophagi on a hill called *Sinabich* which rises not far from the base of the northern wall of the Calycadnus valley, on the left bank of the Pirinj Su, some six miles north-east of Mut. The hill is a striking one, isolated on three sides, and crowned by a high cliff; up the south slope winds an ancient road-way, which conducts to a plateau on the top of the hill, strewn with ruins of a Byzantine city. The remains are all poor and without character, except those of the *Sacra via*, which runs along the north and east of the plateau: here are a great number of sarcophagi, almost all inscribed with dedications in late lettering, of which Mr. Hogarth copied as many as he could between 4 p.m. and sunset on the day of his visit; a few, however, were left for future epigraphists to decipher, and these, we believe, have been copied by Messrs. Heberdey and Wilhelm, who confirm our conjecture that the site is that of the Byzantine bishopric Dalisandos. That Dalisandos must have been situated somewhere here is proved by Prof. Ramsay (*Historical Geography*, p. 366, cf. 495), and the character of the site exactly corresponds with the description given by Basil of Seleucia quoted by him.

(12) ΙΝΓΑCΙCΒΑΛΙΟΥC  
 ΠΟΙΗCΑCΑΥΤΩΚΕ  
 ΤΟΙCΤΕΚΝΟΙCΑΛΛΟ  
 ΤΡΙΟΝΔΕΜΗΔΕΝΙC  
 ΞΟΝΕΠΕΝΤΕΘΗ  
 ΝΕΗΑΠΟΔΩCΙΤΩΦΙCΚΩΧΧΙΛΙΑ

Ἰνγασίς Βαλλίου ἐ-  
 ποίησα [ἐ]αυτῷ καὶ  
 τοῖς τέκνοις ἀλλά-  
 τριον δὲ μηδενὶ ἐ-  
 ξὼν ἐπετετέθη-  
 νε ἢ ἀποδώσει τῷ φίσκῳ (δηνάρια) χίλια.

The grammar seems to need ἀλλοτρίῳ: unless the composer understood ἐπετετέθηναι as an active infinitive. The latter alternative is necessitated by ἀποδώσει, as otherwise the unlawfully buried man would be the subject to it.

(13) ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟCΜΕΝΕΛΑΟΥ  
 ΕΠΟΙΗCΕΝΕΑΥΤΩΚΑΙΤΗ  
 ΓΥΝΑΙΚΙΚΑΙΤΟΙCΤΕΚΝΟΙC  
 ΜΗΜΗC ΧΑΡΙΝ

Ἀθηναῖος Μενελάου  
 ἐποίησεν ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῇ  
 γυναικὶ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις  
 μνήμης χάριν.

Scribbled to the left of the above:

ΙΝΔΑCΜΟΝ  
 ΤΑΝΟΥΤΟΥΓΕ  
 ΝΟΥ

Ἰνδὰς Μον-  
 τάνου τοῦ γέ-  
 νου.

With the name Ἰνδὰς compare Ἰνδης, which is mentioned by Eust. Epiph. fr. 6 (Müller, *Frag. Hist. Gr.* iv. p. 141) as the name of an Isaurian; see also Nos. 20 and 31 below.

Ἰνδὰς was probably the stonemason who had prepared the sarcophagus, and he belonged to the family or guild of Montanus (cf. the inscription from Mut above, No. 4). For inscriptions giving the name of the artist cf. *J. H. S.* xii. (1891), 'Inscriptions from Western Cilicia,' p. 261, *τέχνη Θρασίου*, and No. 42, p. 262, *Ἐρμόφιλος ἐποίηι*.



The name Montanus, although specially connected with Phrygia and with the well-known heretic, is found elsewhere in Asia Minor; cf. *Dict. Ch. Biog.* iii. p. 935.

The names *Ἀθηναῖος* and *Μενέλαος* suggest a hellenizing tendency. A similar passion for Hellenic names is shown in Nos. 1, 3, 16.

- |      |   |  |
|------|---|--|
| (14) | ΤΑΤΤΙΚΙΛΕΟΥΣΕΑΥΤΗ<br>ΑΛΛΩΔΕΛΛΗΔΕΝΙΕΞΟΝ<br>ΕΣΤΩΗΛΛΟΝΟΝΚΛΕΟΝΙΚΟΝ<br>ΤΟΝΥΙΟΝΟCΑΝΔΕΕΠΕΝΘΗ<br>ΑΠΟΔΩCΙΤΩΦΙCΚΩ*<br>ΠΕΝΤΑΚΟCΙΑ  | Ταττις Κιλέους έαυτῇ<br>ἄλλω δὲ μηδενὶ ἐξόν<br>ἔστω ἡ μόνον Κλεόνικον<br>τὸν υἱὸν δὲ ἂν δὲ ἐπένθη<br>ἀποδώσι τῷ φίσκῳ (δηνάρια)<br>πεντακόσια  |
| (15) | ΔΟΡΜΙCΠΑCΚΑΔΑΛ////<br>ΠΙΚΙΕCΤΗCΕΑΥΤΩΚΕ<br>ΤΗΛΗΤΡΙΚΕΤΕΚΝΩ<br>ΑΔΕΛΦΟΥΤΕΚΝΩΚΕ<br>ΕΓΓΟΝΟΙCΑ . . Ε////ΑΤΗ<br>ΝΗΛΛΟΥΑΛΛΩΔΕΛΛΗ<br>ΔΕΝΙΕΞΟΝΤΕΘΙΤΛΕΙ ΗΑ<br>ΠΟΔΩCΙΤΩΦΙCΚΩ*ΧΙΛΙΑ | Δορμὶς Πασκά Δαλ[ισαν]δεὺς θ-<br>(ῆ)κ(ῆ). ἔστησε αὐτῷ καὶ<br>τῇ μητρὶ καὶ τέκνῳ [καὶ<br>ἀδελφοῦ τέκνῳ καὶ<br>ἐγγόνους ἀ[ρσ]ε(σι)ν Ἀτη<br>νημου (?) ἄλλω δὲ μη-<br>δενὶ ἐξόν τεθ(ῆναι) ἡ ἀ-<br>ποδώσι τῷ φίσκῳ (δηνάρια) χίλια. |

The reading *Δαλισανδεὺς*, although by no means improbable, has of course no authority. *Αὐτοῦ* and *αὐτῷ* for *ἐαυτοῦ* and *ἐαυτῷ* are common: perhaps in all cases *αὐτοῦ* and *αὐτῷ* should be read, but these more correct forms are not usually printed by epigraphists, and it is certain that the Greek writing of central and eastern Asia Minor is particularly inaccurate in the pronouns and pronominal adjectives.

- |      |   |   |
|------|---|---|
| (16) | ΜΑΥΡΑΒΗΝΟΔΟΤΟC<br>ΙCΙΔΩΡΟΥΕΑΥΤΩΙCΙΗΩ<br>ΡΩΚΑΙΜΕΝΕΛΑΩΤΟΙCΤΕΚΝ<br>ΟΙCΚΑΙΕΓΓΟΝΟΙCΑΡCΕCΙΝΑΛΛΩ<br>ΔΕΜΗΔΕΝΙΕΞΟΝΕCΤΙΝΗΑΠΟΔΩCΙΤ////////<br>ΜΕΙΩ*ΒΦΚΑΤΗΠΟΛΙ*ΒΦ | Μ. Αὐρ. Ἀθηνόδοτος<br>Ἰσιδώρου ἐαυτῷ [καὶ] Ἰσιδώ-<br>ρῳ καὶ Μενελάῳ τοῖς τέκν-<br>οῖς καὶ ἐγγόνους ἄρσεων, ἄλλω<br>δὲ μηδενὶ ἐξόν ἔστω ἡ ἀποδώσι τῷ τα-<br>μείῳ [δηνάρια] β, φ' καὶ τῇ πόλει (δηνάρια) β, φ |
|------|---|---|

All the names here are foreign. Cf. No. 13, where we have an Athenaeus the son of a Menelaus.

- |      |   |   |
|------|---|---|
| (17) | ΙCΙΔΩΡΟCΠΑΡΙCΠΥΘΚΑΙ<br>ΙΡΔΙCΕΠΟΙΗCΕΝΕΑΥΤΩ<br>ΚΑΙΤΑΤΑΤΗΓΥΝΑΙΚΙ<br>ΑΥΤΟΥΚΑΙΤΟΙC////////ΙC<br>ΑΥΤΟΥΜΝΗΜΗCΧΑ<br>ΡΙΝ | Ἰσίδωρος Παρίσπου ὁ καὶ<br>Ἴρδης ἐποίησεν ἐαυτῷ<br>καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ<br>αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς [τέκνο]ις<br>αὐτοῦ μνήμης χά-<br>ριν. |
|------|---|---|

On this inscription, see on No. 19. Professor Ramsay suggests that the Persian name *Pariskas* (Plut. *Artax.* 12) may have been transformed by an error of the engraver, or by popular pronunciation, into *Παρίσπας*.

- |      |  |  |
|------|--|--|
| (18) | ΠΑΥΛΟCΠΑΥΛΟΥ<br>ΕΠΟΙΗCΕΝΕΑΥΤΗ<br>ΜΝΗΜΗCΧΑΡΙΝ | Παῦλος Παύλου<br>ἐποίησεν ἐαυτῇ<br>μνήμης χάριν. |
|------|--|--|

There can be little or no doubt that this inscription is Christian: *ἐαυτῷ* should be read.

## ECCLESIASTICAL SITES IN ISAURIA.

- |      |                       |                         |
|------|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| (19) | ΙCΙΔΩΡΟCΚΡΙCΑΜΟΟΥΟΚΑΙ | Ἰσίδωρος Κρισαμόν ὁ καὶ |
|      | ΙΡΔΙC ΕΚΤΩΝ           | Ιρδης ἐκ τῶν            |
|      | ΙΔΙΩΝ ΤΗΝ             | ιδίων τὴν               |
|      | CΟΡΟΝ Μ Ν Η           | σορὸν μνή-              |
|      | Μ Η C ΧΑΡΙΝ           | μης χάριν.              |

In No. 17 we have an Isidorus son of Parispas, also called Irdis. Was Irdis the native name and Isidorus the assumed foreign name? Compare Ramsay in Kuhn's *Zeitsch. für Vergl. Sprachf.* 1886, p. 391.

The difference in the size of the lettering may imply that this was one of many sarcophagi made according to pattern with a space left for the name, and that the name was filled in afterwards, in this case in smaller letters owing to its unusual length.

- |      |   |  |
|------|---|--|
| (20) | ΙΝΔΟΥΣΘΕΟΚΑΙ<br>ΠΑΥΛΟΣΒΑΤΗ<br>ΕΑΥΤΟΥΓΥΝΕΚΙ<br>ΕΩΦΡΟΣΥΝΗΣ<br>ΤΕΚΑΙΕΥΝΟΙΑΣ<br>ΧΑΡΙΝ | Ἰνδους ε' ὁ καὶ<br>Παῦλος Βᾶ τῇ<br>ἑαυτοῦ γυνεκί<br>σωφροσύνης<br>τε καὶ εὐνοίας<br>χάριν. |
|------|---|--|

<sup>1</sup>Ἰδους] Cf. Indas, 13 and 31; on the double name cf. Nos. 17 and 19, and the remarks there. Here the change would be due to the influence of Christianity.

Are there other instances known of the use of  $\epsilon'$  in this way? It means the fifth of the name;  $\delta'$  is commoner.

<sup>1</sup>*Ἰδους* is here masculine, *Ἀλλους*<sup>1</sup> (*J.H.S.* 1891, p. 266) is feminine; probably the accentuation differs according to gender, though how the accent should be placed is uncertain.

- (21)        //////////////// ΟΙ ΟΗ  
              ΤΗΣ ΕΠΑΡΧΕΙΑΣ  
              Γ. ΠΟΜΠΩΝΙΟΣ Γ.  
              ΥΛΙΑΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΝΑΣ ΒΙΛ-  
              ΛΙΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΗΣΑΝ ΕΛΑ-  
              ΤΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΤΕΚΝΟ-  
              ΙΣ ΜΗΝΗ ΜΕΧΑΡΙΝΟΥ  
              ΚΙΣ ΩΤΗ ΤΗΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΗΣ
- Ἔτους ᾠ΄  
τῆς ἐπαρχίας  
Γ. Πομπώνιος Ἰο-  
υλιανὸς καὶ Νᾶς Βίλ-  
λιος ἐποίησαν ἐλα-  
τοὺς καὶ τοὺς τέκνο-  
ις μνήμης χάριν ὁρ-  
κίζου τὴν σελήνην.

ἐτου]s οἱ τῆς ἐπαρχείας] Cf. No. 27 below. The era of Dalisandos is probably either 72 (the date of its incorporation into Cilicia) or some year in the reign of Pius (137—161) when the three Eparchies, Cilicia, Isauria, and Lycaonia were instituted.

With *Nās* cf. *Nān τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ*, *J.H.S.* xii. (1891), 'Inscriptions from Cilicia,' p. 229; *Nān Δακρύου τὴν αὐτοῦ γυναῖκα*, *ib.* p. 262; cf. also *Mās τὸν αὐτῆς ἄνδρα*, *ib.* p. 261; *Δας*, *ib.* p. 262; and *Bē* above, No. 20. *Tās* occurs perhaps in No. 28, but is masculine. The name Ἐράs in Pisidia is doubtless the same with prothetic *ε*; it is always feminine. Similarly we have *Bās* and Ἄφα. Enas has been maltreated by MM. Duchesne and Collignon, *B.C.H.* vol. ii. p. 603, No. 15, and by MM. Cousin and Diehl, *B.C.H.* 1889, p. 342, who read ἐνάτῃ γυναίκεῖ in place of Ἐρά τῃ γυναίκεῖ.

- (22) Κ . Ι Ε Μ Ο Ρ Ω Δ Ι Σ Ι Ο Ξ Ι Μ Ε                      Κ [ι λ] ις Ἀφροδίσιον με-  
Τ Α Υ Ρ Ι Ο Υ Α Ν Δ Ρ Ο Σ Ε                          τὰ κυρίου ἀνδρὸς ἐ-  
Π Ο Ι Σ Ε Ν ἘΑΥ Τ Η                                ποισεν ἑαυτῇ [κὲ  
Τ Ε Κ Ν Ο Ι Σ Μ Ν Η Μ , Χ Α Ρ Ι Ν                    τέκνοις μνήμης χάριν.

*Kίλις Ἀφροδισίου* is Prof. Ramsay's conjecture : on the name see No. 29. Here we must doubtless understand wife of Aphrodisios. *Cf.* No. 31 below.

<sup>1</sup> With Isaurian Ἀλλους compare Thracian Ἀλλεις *Frag. Hist. Gr.* V. i. 36; Bithynian Ἀλλεις, *Athen. Mittheil.* 1887, p. 183; also (at Cyzicos?) *Athen. Mittheil.* 1885, p. 20.

- (23) ΓΑΙΟCΙΟΥΛΙΟCΚΕΛΕΡ  
ΟΥΕΤΡΑΝΟCΕΑΥΤΩ  
ΚΑΙΟΚΤΑΟΥΙΑΤΗΓΥ  
ΝΑΙΚΙΚΕΤ////////Τ . . ΝΟΙC  
ΜΝΗ//////// / / / / / ΔΙ//  
Ο' // / / / / / / / / / / / / / /  
\\//ΕΤΕΘΗΔΕΑΛΛΟC
- Γαίος 'Ιούλιος Κέλερ  
αὐετρανὸς ἑαυτῷ  
καὶ 'Οκταουίᾳ τῇ γυ-  
ναϊκὶ καὶ τ[οῖς] τ[έκ]νοις  
μνή[μης χάριν] δ(ε)  
[οὐδενὶ ἐξόν ἐστὶν τεθῆν-]  
αι.] ἐτέθη δὲ ἄλλος.

The last three words were added, probably during the lifetime of Celer, to indicate an exception made to the prohibition.

- (24) ΖΗΝΟΦΑΝΗΣΚΑΙΔΙΟΜΗ-  
ΔΗΣΑΔΕΛΦΟΙ ΛΙΕΡΟC  
ΚΑΙ ΤΑΤΙC ΛΙΕΡΟC  
ΕΠΟΙΗCΑΝΕΑΥΤΟΙC  
ΜΝΗΛΗCΧΑΡΙΝ
- Ζηνοφάνης καὶ Διομή-  
δης ἀδελφοὶ μέρος  
καὶ Τατίς μέ(ρ)ος  
ἐποίησαν ἑαυτοῖς  
μνήμης χάριν.

Two brothers, Zenophanes and Diomedes, made one part, a sister, Tatis, the other. The tomb was erected at joint expense and perhaps contained two divisions.

- (25) ΚΑΙΙ//ΡΝΙΚΟC ΟΥΓΙΓΕΡΙΟC
- Κ(λεό)νικος Οὐγέριος.
- (26) ΠΩΔΡΙCΜΟΝΤΑΝΟΥ  
ΟΚΑΙΠΑΤΡΟΦΙΛΟCΕΠ  
ΟΙΗCΕΝΕΑΥΤΩΜΝ  
ΜΗCΧΑΡΙΝ
- Πωδρίς Μοντάνου  
ὁ καὶ Πατρόφιλος ἐπ-  
οίησεν ἑαυτῷ μν(η)-  
μης χάριν.

For the termination -δρις cp. Μωγγεδρίς, *J.H.S.* 1891, p. 264.

The remaining seven inscriptions have been grouped together because they all appear to be instances of descent traced through the mother. The first two, Nos. 27 and 28, seem quite certain, and prove the existence of the custom; the others are sufficiently strong to give corroborative evidence. When single instances occur of descent through the mother it may be assigned to various causes (see Paton and Hicks, *Inscriptions of Cos*, p. 256, Hogarth in *Journ. Philol.* xix. 37, p. 88), but so many instances occurring together suggest that the local custom in this part of Cilicia coincided with that of the Lycians as recorded by Herodotus. We may compare also No. 4 from Mut. The exceptions are to be explained by the gradual hellenization of the people and their customs; they might also arise from the influence of Christianity. Bp. Lightfoot (*Phil.* p. 55) draws attention to a similar custom prevailing in Macedonia; he ascribes it to the elevated social position of women.

- (27) ΕΤΟΥC ΟΒΤΗCΕΠΑΡ  
ΧΕΙΑC CΙΑΔΙ//ΕΝΗ  
CΙΟCΟΚΑΙΚΛΕΟ  
ΝΕΙΚΟCΚΑΙΝΕΝΗC  
ΙΑΜΒΙΟΥΗΚΑΙΤΑΤΑC  
ΕΠΟΙΗCΑΝΕΑΥΤΟΙC  
ΜΝΗΜΗCΧΑΡΙΝ
- ἔτους οβ' τῆς ἐπαρ-  
χείας, Σίλα[ς Ν]ευη-  
σίος ὁ καὶ Κλεό-  
νεκος καὶ Νευησ[ίς]  
'Ιαμβίου ἡ καὶ Τάτας  
ἐποίησαν ἑαυτοῖς  
μνήμης χάριν.

It is clear that the name Nenesis (the restoration of which in the second line seems certain) is feminine, and that the descent of Silas is therefore traced through his mother.

- (28) ΠΥ . ΤΑC ΤΥΡΑΝΝΙΕΠΟΙΗCΕΝΑΙΑΥ  
ΤΩ ΚΕ ΤΗΓΥΝΕΚΙΑΥΤΟΥΚΕΤΕ  
ΝΟΙC ΜΝΗΜΗC ΧΑΡΙΝ
- (Α)ὐ[ρ.] Τας? Τύραννε ἐποίησεν αἰαν-  
τῷ καὶ τῇ γυνεκὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τέ[κ]-  
νοις μνήμης χάριν.



The name Tyrannis is proved by No. 30 below to be feminine. It occurs in the form Tyranis, *C.I.G.* 4971, *b*, *Add.* Ἀλεξάνδρου, μητρὸς Τυρανίδος, and in the form Tyrannis, *C.I.G.* II. 3796. In both cases it is feminine. This may be counted therefore with No. 27 as a clear instance of descent traced through the mother.

- |      |  |  |
|------|--|--|
| (29) | ΙΡΔΙΣΚΙΛΛΙΟΤΗΝCΟΡΟΝ<br>ΕΑΥΤΩΚΑΤΕCΚΕΥΑCΕΝ | Ἴρδις Κίλλιος τὴν σορὸν<br>ἑαυτῷ κατεσκεύασεν. |
|------|--|--|

With Κίλλιος compare Κίλλους, No. 14. We have perhaps a similar uncertainty in Tyranis and Tyrannis (Nos. 28, 30). Such variations show how uncertain the native Isaurians, who can have been only very slightly acquainted with Greek, were in regard to the hellenization of the native names.

Killis is shown by the termination to be feminine. No. 22 cannot, however, be quoted in corroboration of this, as the reading is too conjectural.

- |      |   |   |
|------|---|---|
| (30) | ΤΥΡΑΝΙCΤΡΟΚΟ<br>ΝΔΙ<br>ΕΠΟΙΗCΕΝ<br>ΕΑ<br>ΥΤΗΜΝΗ<br>ΜΗC<br>ΧΑΡΙΝ | Τυραν(ν)ίς Τροκό-<br>νδι ἐποίησεν<br>ἑαυτῇ μνή-<br>μης χάριν. |
|------|---|---|

In this and the three following inscriptions the name Trokondis occurs in the genitive in three different forms (Τροκόνδι, Τροκόνδιν, Τροκόνδει). As the masculine form Τροκόνδας is of frequent occurrence, it seems natural to assume that the name, as its termination suggests, is feminine. These instances of descent traced through the mother are not so certain as the two first given, and without them the analogy of Irdis might be used to prove that the name Trokondis was masculine; but when we have two certain instances we are justified in taking it as feminine in accordance with its termination, and in using these instances as corroborative evidence.

- |      |   |  |
|------|---|--|
| (31) | ΜΑΥΡΟΥΑΒΑCΙCΤΡΟΚΟΝ<br>ΔΙΝΚΕΤΑΤΙCΟΥΑΒΑΒCΕΩC<br>ΚΑΤΑCΚΕΥΑCΑΝΕΑΥΤΟΙCΤΗ-<br>ΝΘΗΚΗΝΜΗΜΗCΧΑΡΙΝ<br>ΙΝΔΑCΜΟΝΤΑΝΟΥ<br>ΤΟΥΓΕΝΟΥ | Μ. Αἰρ. ΟὐάβαCις Τροκόν-<br>διν καὶ Τατίς ΟὐαβάCσεως<br>κατασκεύασαν ἑαυτοῖς τή-<br>ν θήκην μνήμης χάριν<br>Ἰνδας Μοντάνου<br>τοῦ γένου. |
|------|---|--|

Τροκόνδιν is the genitive of the mother's name. On the sporadic appearance of the suffix ν in genitive and dative cases, see Ramsay in Kuhn's *Zeitsch. für Vergl. Sprachf.* 1886, p. 386.

Tatis ΟὐαβάCσεως must here be translated Tatis the wife of Ouababsis: the expression is a variation of Τατίς ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ. So Κίλλις Ἀφροδισίου, in No. 22, seems to mean Kilis the wife of Aphrodisius.

Ἰνδας κ.τ.λ. are cut in a scratchy style below the rest of the inscription.

- |      |  |   |
|------|--|---|
| (32) | ΤΑΤΑCΤΡΟΚΟΝ//ΠΙΙΙΕCΤΗ<br>CΕΝΤΗΒΥΓΑΤΡΙΝΕC<br>ΜΗΜΗCΧΑΡΙΝΑ////////ΩΔΕ<br>ΜΗΕΞΟΝΤΩΕΝΒΑΛΙΝΗCΑΝ<br>ΠΑΡΑΤΑΥΤΑΠΟΙΗCΗΑΠΟ<br>ΔΩCΕΙΤΩΦΙCΚΩΔΗΝΑΡΙΑ<br>ΔΙCΧΙΛΙΑΠΕΝΤΑΚΟCΙΑ | Τατάς Τροκον[διν] ἔστη-<br>σεν τῇ θυγατρὶ Νεσ[τῇ]<br>μνήμης χάριν ἑ[λλ]θ[ρ] δὲ<br>μὴ ἐξόν τῳ ἐνβαλῖν, ἡ δὲ ἂν<br>παρὰ ταῦτα ποιήσῃ ἀπο-<br>δώσει τῷ φίσκῳ δηνάρια<br>δισχίλια πεντακόσια. |
|------|--|---|

Νεστῇ] Cf. Pape, *s.v.*

(33)

ΕΡΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΤΡΟ  
 ΚΟΝΔΕΙΕΤΗΕ  
 ΙΑΙΡΕΙΟΝΤΗΓΥΝ///  
 ΚΙΚΑΙΤΟ////////N  
 //////////ΔΕΜΗΔΕΝ///  
 ΜΕΞΟΝΗΤΩ/////////  
 ΖΩΤΗΝΕΛΗΝ///N  
 C///ΛΕΟ////////

Ἑρμοκράτης Τρο-  
 κόνδει ἔστησε  
 ἰ[γγ]είον τῇ γυν[αι-  
 κὲ καὶ το[ῖς τέκν]-  
 οῖς. ἄλλω] δὲ μηδεν[ι]  
 μὴ ἐξόν ἦτω· [ὄρκε]-  
 ζω τὴν σελη[ν]ην  
 . . . . .

On the mention of the moon in the imprecation cf. *J.H.S.* xii. (1891), p. 231 ('Inscriptions from Western Cilicia'), and Sterrett, *Epigr. Journey*, No. 31, also No. 21 above.

On ἦτω cf. *J.H.S.* xii. (1891), p. 228, 'Inscriptions from Western Cilicia,' No. 4.; Sterrett, *Epigr. Journey*, No. 31; and Ramsay in Kuhn's *Zft. f. vergl. Sprachf.* 1887, p. 386, who suggests that ἦτω is a reminiscence of the native Phrygian form. It is noteworthy that ἦτω occurs usually in that imprecatory formula, which in Phrygia and Lycaonia is often expressed (even in Greek inscriptions) in the native language so as to be better understood by the people.

The above inscriptions, together with those published by Mr. Hicks in the *Journal of the Hellenic Society* ('Inscriptions from Western Cilicia,' 1891, p. 258) nearly complete the epigraphic results of our expedition as far as Isauria was concerned. It may be convenient here to add one or two notes on these previously published.

In publishing the inscriptions on the great tower at the Hieron of Olba, Mr. Hicks dates the first 'at least as early as 100 B.C.' Professor Ramsay had the impression when copying the inscription, that the reign of Augustus was a probable date for it, and thinks that it perhaps gives the name of the dynast of the Teneid family who ruled at Olba after Aba was deposed: the tower would in that case be built about 30-17 B.C. It has not been noticed that this tower is represented on some autonomous coins of Olba, of which there are specimens in the British Museum.

Professor Ramsay notices also a few discrepancies between his reading and that of the published text in the case of the inscriptions in the Corycian Temple. He unfortunately had not his notebook beside him when he looked over the proofs, as they did not reach him until he had started for the East. The following may here be mentioned as of some importance. They occur in the graffiti on the stone marked (f) where he reads:

40-1. M. Αὐρ. Μοντανὸς δις ὁ καὶ Ἀνατό[λ]ης β'.

42. M. Αὐρ. Κ——s' Ἀσκληπᾶ β'.

43-4. M. Αὐρ. Ἐρ[μογένη ?] δ' ὁ καὶ [Νουν ?] εἰς γ'.

45. M. Αὐρ. —os Ἀθηνόδωρος, υἱὸς — τοῦ κα'.

I 41 a common contraction of Ἀνατόλιος, in 44 of Νουνέχιος is used.

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